

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

An Illustrated History

OF SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT FROM THE EARLIEST
PERIOD TO OUR OWN TIMES.

BY CHARLES KNIGHT

“The harvest gathered in the fields of the Past is to be brought home for the use of the Present.”—DR. ARNOLD, *Lectures on Modern History*.

VOLUME III.

FROM THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI. TO THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

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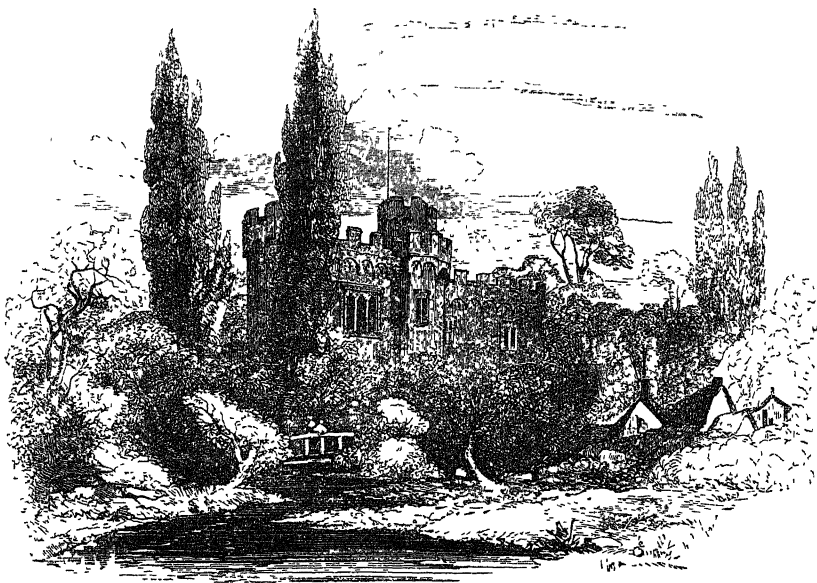
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POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Events immediately after the death of Henry VIII.—Executors of his Will—Somerset chosen Protector—Character of the young King—War with Scotland—Scottish alliance with France—Somerset's desire for union between England and Scotland—Invasion—Battle of Pinkie—Progress of the Reformation—Parliament of 1547—Various Statutes in matters of religion—Proclamation against certain processions and ceremonies—The Act for the Uniformity of Service—Publication of the Book of Common Prayer.

ON Friday, the 28th of January, 1547, Edward, the son of king Henry VIII., is sojourning at Hertford Castle. His father lies dead in the palace at Whitehall. Between one and two o'clock of the morning of Saturday, the 29th, the earl of Hertford, his uncle, is also at Hertford Castle. Not twenty-four hours have elapsed since he was at the side of the dying king. He has left a confidential friend behind him, sir William Paget, one of the secretaries of state; and in answer to a despatch which has been forwarded to him, the earl writes, before day-break of that January morning, with regard to the late king's Will, "that it might be well considered how much thereof were

necessary to be published ;” adding, “for divers respects I think it not convenient to satisfy the world.” The Will was in safe custody. Hertford had locked it up ; but he confides in Paget, and says in this letter, “I have sent you the key of the Will.”* As the day advances, prince Edward and his uncle, with sir Anthony Brown, ride to Enfield. There, in the Manor House, dwells the lady Elizabeth. The son of Henry by Jane Seymour is a few months above nine years of age. Henry’s daughter by Anne Boleyn has seen thirteen years and four months. This boy and girl are attached to each other. Their elder sister, Mary, who is now in her thirty-second year, has few sentiments in common with these young people. She clings to the principles and institutions which, since their births, have been rapidly perishing. They have been taught to believe that the new opinions to which she has been compelled to assent will go forward into a more complete and permanent revolution. Edward and Elizabeth are brought together at Enfield, before their father’s death is declared to them. “Never,” says Hayward, the historian of Edward VI., “was sorrow more sweetly set forth.”

The parliament, which was sitting at the time of king Henry’s decease, met on the 29th of January, and transacted business without receiving any intimation of the great change in the monarchy. On the 31st, on which day Edward was conducted to the Tower of London and proclaimed king, Wriothlesley, the chancellor, announced to the lords and commons the death of “their late dread lord.” A portion of the king’s Will was then read, and the parliament was dissolved. That Will was dated the 30th of December ; and under it sixteen executors were appointed, to exercise the powers of the crown during Edward’s minority. To assist these executors in cases of doubt, a second council of twelve persons was also nominated. At the accession of Henry VI., at the age of nine months, the peers assembled and issued writs for a parliament. Henry V. had desired by his Will that his brother Gloucester should be regent ; but the parliament declared that a king could not appoint a regent during the minority of his successor. They committed a limited power to Gloucester under the title of Protector. The Executors of Henry VIII. raised the earl of Hertford to that office. The very act of appointing executors was the assertion of the royal prerogative to deal with the kingdom as with a private estate. A servile parliament had passed a statute under which Henry thus attempted to supersede the ancient powers of the legislature. The solemn trust conferred upon numerous executors propitiated the ruling passion strong in death ; but the administrative power of many would necessarily be usurped by one, or by a few. Wriothlesley opposed the nomination of any one of the council with an authority superior to the rest. Hertford reasonably enough pointed out the difficulties of conducting a government with such a large executive. The chancellor was overruled. The influence of Hertford prevailed. He was soon after created duke of Somerset ; and Wriothlesley was removed from office ; having in his struggle for power committed a political offence. In these proceedings, the party of the Reformation was triumphant. Without the support of a powerful party Somerset could not have gone so direct to the object of his ambition. No one appears to have offered any resistance but the ex-chan-

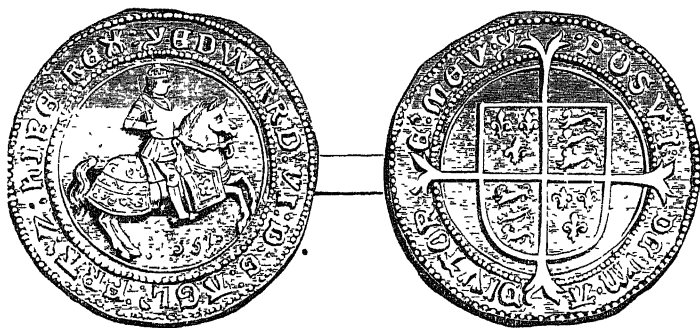
* Tytler, “Original Letters,” vol. i. p. 15.

cellor; and after Edward's coronation, which took place on the 28th of February, the Protector was not only confirmed in his authority by letters-patent under the great seal, but his powers were extended, and the functions of the executors were merged in those of a general council, who were bound to act by the advice and consent of the real head of the state. The boy-king had been crowned and anointed. He had taken the coronation oath. He had proclaimed a general pardon. But Somerset was the sovereign of England for the time being. He and his faithful co-executors had wealth as well as titles showered upon them, under the pretence that the late king had, by a clause in his will, required his executors to make good all that he had promised; and witnesses were ready to prove what these promises were. The same spirit of rapacity which had swallowed up so large a portion of the church property, in the days of Henry, was still unsated; and the zeal for a reformed church, earnest as it was amongst the more intelligent and truly religious of the nation, was thus exposed to reproach and misconstruction. When it was alleged that Henry VIII. had promised the earl of Hertford the revenues of six good prebends, the disinterested sincerity of the Protector in seeking a further reformation of religion might well be doubted.

In tracing the course of events in the reign of Edward VI.—a reign which lasted only six years and a half—we feel strongly impressed with the contrast between the influence of the personal character of a king whose will was almost absolute, and that of the personal character of a king whose nonage prevented him exercising any real control over public affairs. And yet we cannot speak of the tendencies of the government without feeling that the disposition, the abilities, and the acquirements of this youth, who died before he had completed his sixteenth year, could not be without some effect upon the opinions of the time, if they had little share in the direction of its policy. The "Journal" written with his own hand, which is preserved in the Cotton Library, is very remarkable, not only for what it contains but for what it omits. There is not the slightest display of learning in it—there are no puerilities. It is a very simple record of public affairs, without any expression of strong feeling. Not exhibiting any large or original views, it yet manifests a perfect acquaintance with the general nature of the matters which came under the writer's observation. A very competent judge has said, "It is perhaps somewhat brief and dry for so young an author; but the adoption of such a plan, and the accuracy with which it is written, bear marks of an untainted taste and of a considerate mind."* Of the first and second years of his reign, and of three months of the third year, it presents only a short summary. From the 24th of March, 1549, it becomes a Diary, and is continued till the 30th of November, 1552. In the introductory part, his own birth is recorded; and his early education is thus described: "Afterwards was brought up, till he came to six years old, among the women. At the sixth year of his age he was brought up in learning by Master Doctor Cox, who was after his almoner, and John Cheke, Master of Arts, two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the scripture, of philosophy, and all liberal sciences. Also John Belmaine, Frenchman, did teach him the French language." In a very curious paper,

* Sir J. Mackintosh, "History," vol. ii. p. 249.

without date, addressed to Edward by William Thomas, clerk of the council, a series of eighty-five questions upon matters of policy are put before him. These are of the most general nature, but of much significance—such as, “Whether it be better for the commonwealth that the power be in the nobility or in the people?” These questions the writer recommends by saying, “there is not so small a one amongst them as will not minister matter of much discourse worthy the argument and debating; which your highness may, either for pastime or in earnest, propone to the wisest men.”* The very nature of these questions is some testimony to the opinion held of this



Crown of Edward VI.

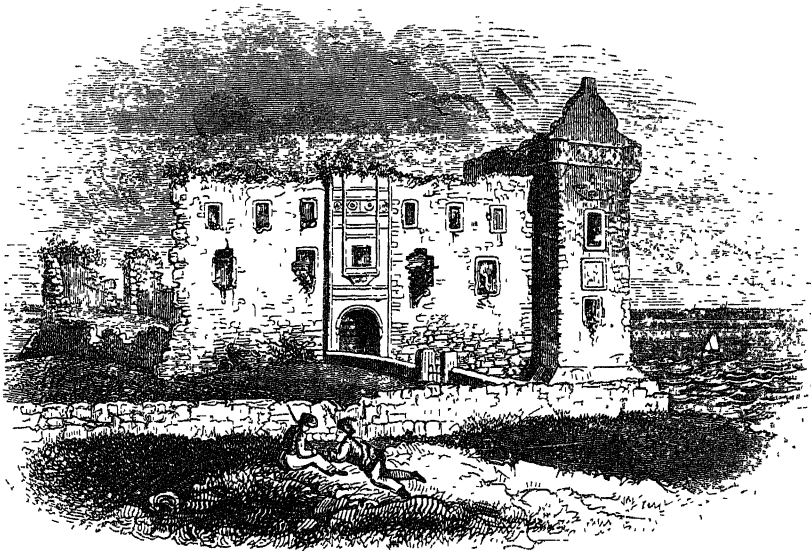
prince's understanding; and this opinion may be valued at a higher rate than the eulogy of Cardan, an Italian physician, who saw him professionally in 1552, that he was “a marvellous boy”—“*monstrificus puellus*.”

At the period of Henry's death England was at peace. The pacification of 1546 with France included Scotland; and it was a leading object of Henry's policy, which he held to in his dying hour, that the union of England and Scotland should be cemented by the marriage of his son with the child Mary, the Scottish queen. The attempt to force this marriage upon Scotland had aroused the old national spirit of independence in her nobility; and the proposal of Somerset, that the former treaty for this marriage should be renewed and ratified, was coldly listened to. Within a month after the accession of Edward, the Council Book shows that a state of active hostility was approaching. On the 27th of February, Sir Andrew Dudley is appointed to the command of the ship *Pauncy*, to cruise in the North Seas, off the English and Scottish coasts.† In less than a fortnight, Dudley had captured the Scottish vessel *Lion*. This casual encounter appears to have made a strong impression upon the young king, for it is recorded with more than usual minuteness in his Journal. At this juncture an event occurred which materially affected the relations of England with France and Scotland. Francis I. died on the 31st of March, at Rambouillet. He had reigned thirty-two years; during which period his affairs had been so mixed up with those of Henry VIII., either as friends or enemies, that their fates

* See Ellis, “Second Series,” vol. ii. p. 187.

† Lemon, “Calendar of State Papers,” p. 2.

seemed in some degree to be linked together, and Francis had entertained a notion that he should die in the same year as the English king. When Henry died, Francis caused a funeral service to be celebrated in the church of Notre Dame; and he gradually fell into a state of dejection, which, if not a tribute of friendship to the memory of his rival in pomp and pageantry, was a submission to the lesson, which even kings must learn, that "all is vanity." The son and successor of Francis, Henry II., was playing at tennis, two days after his father's death,—by advice of his physicians.* He gave a more convincing proof of his slight regard for his father's memory, by calling about him the counsellors against whom he had received a death-bed warning. Twenty days before the death of Francis, a treaty had been concluded between France and England. This the new king of France refused to ratify. He preferred to cultivate an alliance with the Scots. The duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine were the brothers of the queen-dowager



Castle of St. Andrew's.

of Scotland, and they were amongst the chief advisers of the French king. To stay the progress of the reformed opinions in Scotland, and to prevent the marriage of the young Mary with Edward, were sufficient motives to a decided change of policy. The castle of St. Andrews, after the murder of cardinal Beaton, in 1546, had been held against the regent Arran, by those who were favourable to the English alliance. A truce between the regent and the possessors was concluded in February, 1547; and they subsequently proceeded to make a treaty with Somerset, in which they engaged to forward the projected marriage, and to aid any English force that should enter

* Wotton to Somerset, "Tytler," vol. i. p. 38.

Scotland for the purpose of obtaining possession of the queen's person. The French government, in the summer of 1547, sent a fleet to assist in the reduction of the castle. It was finally surrendered on the 29th of July, and was afterwards demolished. On the 2nd of September, the protector crossed the border at Berwick, with a powerful invading army.

It would be injustice to the policy of Somerset to assume that he entered upon the war with Scotland in the arrogant spirit with which Henry VIII. had conducted his negotiations and his assaults. There was a treaty under the Great Seal of Scotland for the marriage of Edward with Mary; but the determination to demand its fulfilment was conducted in a tone of moderation, in the first instance, which shows that the empire of force was gradually yielding to the empire of opinion. The Protector addressed a remarkable letter "to the nobility and counsellors, gentlemen and commons and all other the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland," in which, with "greeting and peace," he sets forth the desire of England to establish the amity of the two countries by the union of the Crowns. In this document we recognise the expression of the sagacious statesman rather than that of the ambitious intriguer—of one who saw what was inevitable, but who did not sufficiently estimate the force of national pride and individual interest in retarding a great good. What the statesmen of queen Anne had the utmost difficulty in accomplishing, the minister of king Edward vainly expected to realise by appeals to great principles which were imperfectly understood even two centuries later. Somerset said to the people of Scotland, that living in one island, speaking the same language, alike in manners and conditions, it was "unmeet, unnatural, and unchristian, that there should be betwixt us so mortal war, who, in respect of all other nations, be and should be like as two brethren." He proposed a solid union by the marriage of king Edward and queen Mary—the circumstances being so favourable that the Divine Providence manifestly pointed out the road to amity. In this union of two kingdoms, England was ready "to take the indifferent old name of Britain again, because nothing should be left on our part to be offered. * * * We seek not to take from you your laws nor customs, but we seek to redress your oppressions, which of divers ye do sustain." If eloquent writing could have been more effectual than sturdy blows, such an appeal as this might have prevented the battle of Pinkie: "If we two, being made one by amity, be most able to defend us against all nations, and having the sea for wall, the mutual love for garrison, and God for defence, should make so noble and well-agreeing monarchy, that neither in peace we may be ashamed, nor in war afraid of any worldly or foreign power, why should not you be as desirous of the same, and have as much cause to rejoice at it as we?" * But the words of peace were not hearkened to. The influence of France prevailed. The priests stirred up the Scottish people to resist the English heretics. Knox was a prisoner in France; and the friends of the Reformation were scattered and proscribed.

Somerset advanced from Berwick along the shore, whilst a fleet under lord Clinton kept the sea within view of the coast; and as the army marched

* This letter, given at length in Holinshed, p. 998, is far more interesting than the paraphrase of Hayward, which Hume quotes as his authority.

by Dunbar, the ships were seen sailing into the Frith of Forth. Turning westward the cavalry forded the river Lynn, and the infantry crossed at Linton Bridge. Bands of Scottish horsemen now began to appear; and the earl of Warwick was nearly taken prisoner in a rash advance. On the 8th the English were encamped near Preston-pans; and the fleet was at anchor near Musselburgh. The Scottish army was within a distance of little more than two miles; the ridge of Falside being between the two hosts. On the 9th, after a sharp skirmish, Somerset and Warwick reconnoitred the Scots from this hill. They occupied a strong position, with the sea on their left flank, and a deep marsh on their right. The river Esk protected their front; and the bridge crossing the Esk was held and strongly defended. On the morning of the 10th, when the English army began to move, it was discovered that the Scots had abandoned their strong position, and had crossed the river. They had taken up an opinion that the English were about to retreat to their ships, and would escape unless attacked in their camp. This belief was fatal to them. Although the Scots fought with the most determined valour, and successfully resisted a furious charge of the English cavalry, their rash movement had placed a portion of their force within the ability of the English "to compass them," says one present in the battle, "in that they should no ways escape us; the which by our force and number we were as well able to do as a spinner's web to catch a swarm of bees."* The fight had been very doubtful until this superiority was gained in one portion of the field. A general panic then ensued; and the Scottish army fled before their slaughtering pursuers. We shall not follow Patten, the "Londoner," in his narrative of the horrible traces of this slaughter, by the sands of Leith, by the high road and King's Park to Edinburgh, and through the marsh to Dalkeith. The pursuit was not ended till nightfall; when the victors returned to plunder the Scottish camp. This great victory—the last field, most happily, in which England and Scotland were engaged in a quarrel that could be called national—was without any benefit beyond the unsubstantial glory of the victors. Ten thousand Scots perished, and fifteen hundred were taken prisoners, without any serious loss on the part of the English. Leith was set on fire. Several castles were taken. But in three weeks after the battle of Pinkie, Somerset recrossed the Tweed; and entered London on the 8th of October, declining, however, any triumphant reception. The young king congratulated his uncle in a short and sensible letter written on the 18th of September;† and the successful general received additional grants of landed estates. Some have ascribed the sudden return of Somerset to the necessity of resisting intrigues that were proceeding against him in the English council. It is probable that he trusted more to the gradual effects of his victory upon the minds of the Scottish nation, than to any immediate attempts to control the course of its government. But the spirit of resistance to the English heretics was excited rather than allayed by the disaster of the Black Saturday, as the day of Pinkie was long called. The desired amity was still far distant. There was a young man in the battle whose influence upon the politics of Scotland was ultimately more powerful than the prowess

* Patten's Narrative; in "Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History."

† Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 148.

of the Protector, of whom he was a confidential servant. In that field the future great minister of Elizabeth "was like to have been slain; but was miraculously saved by one that, putting forth his arm, to thrust Mr. Cecil out of the level of the cannon, had his arm stricken off." *

Before the departure of Somerset for Scotland writs had been issued to summon a parliament. During the seven months which had elapsed of the reign of Edward the intentions of the government as to the reform of religion had been decidedly manifested; and there could be little doubt that a parliament would carry forward the principles of which the archbishop of Canterbury and the Protector were now the open and fearless advocates. Cranmer and his coadjutors in the church sought to prepare a broad and solid foundation for their reforms, in the enlightenment of the people. Vain ceremonies and superstitious observances might be attacked by statutes and proclamations. The ancient rubbish might be cleared away by the strong hand. But a fairer temple could not be built up except by the force of national opinion. The influence of the printing-press and the influence of the pulpit were to be exerted to lead the people to think, and in thinking, to reject the tyranny which had so long kept them in darkness. Cranmer had selected the Paraphrase of the New Testament, by Erasmus, as a fitting book to be translated into English, and set up in churches. It was the work of one of the most moderate of reformers, and contained little that could be offensive to the professors of the old faith. But any mode of enlightening the people was offensive to the anti-reforming party in the church; and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, attacked this translation with clever bitterness which many a dignified ecclesiastic, even to this day, has been proud to imitate. One objection was made by Gardiner to the circulation of the Paraphrase, which may deserve a passing notice. He says that the injunctions to set up the book "charge the realm for buying rather above 20,000*l.* than under; whereof I have made account by estimate of the number of buyers, and the price of the whole books." The Paraphrase is in two folio volumes. It was translated by several persons; and each portion of the book being separately paged, it was either issued in sections, as it came from the press, or was divided amongst many printers to secure a rapid completion. The cost of this book, thus objected to by Gardiner, was probably as injurious to its circulation as "the arrogant ignorance of the translator," which he unsparingly ridiculed. In the same spirit the bishop of Winchester attacked the Book of Homilies, "appointed by the king's majesty to be declared, and read by all parsons, vicars, or curates, every Sunday in their churches, where they have cure." With all his rancour and prejudice there is a boldness and honesty in Gardiner's remonstrances against the measures of this period, which were ill answered by committing him to the Fleet. His voice was thus silenced before the meeting of parliament. An ecclesiastical visitation, to which Gardiner and Bonner, the bishop of London, were strongly opposed, went forward during the Protector's absence in Scotland. The kingdom was divided into six circuits; and the commissioners in each had to inquire as to the removal of images, when they were abused by pilgrimages and offerings; whether the Scriptures were read, and the Litany sung, in English; whether,

* Life of Lord Burghley by a Domestic; in Peck's "*Desiderata Curiosa*," p. 8.

the clergy declared to their parishioners the articles for the abolition of superfluous holidays; whether they diligently taught their parishioners, and especially the youth, the Pater Noster, the articles of our faith, and the Ten Commandments, in English; whether the Bible, of the largest volume in English, was provided in some convenient place in the church. These, and many other subjects of inquiry, furnished a clear assurance that the government was not disposed to slumber over the work of the Reformation. The commissioners appear to have been armed in some particulars not only with a power of inquiry, but of absolute authority to repress abuses. There was no open resistance to their proceedings. Burnet says, that when the Protector returned from Scotland, "he found the visitors had performed their visitation, and all had given obedience. And those who expounded the secret providences of God with an eye to their own opinions, took great notice of this, —that on the same day on which the visitors removed, and destroyed, most of the images in London, their armies were so successful in Scotland at Pinkie-field."*

The parliament which assembled on the 4th of November, 1547, sat only till the 24th of December; but in those fifty days it passed some measures of the highest importance. The "Act for the repeal of certain statutes concerning treasons, felonies, &c.," swept away the manifold treasons which had been created, by statute after statute, in the reign of Henry VIII. In the reign of Richard II. the same process of making new treasons had been resorted to; and the statute of Henry IV. by which they are abrogated, says that "no man knew how he ought to behave himself, to do, speak, or say, for doubt of such pains of treason." So it was when Edward VI. came to the throne; and the remedy, as in the reign of Henry IV., was to go back to the Statute of Treasons of the 25th of Edward III., and entirely to repeal what Blackstone calls the "new-fangled treasons" of "the bloody reign of Henry VIII."† By this act of the 1st of Edward VI., all "estatutes touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning religion,"—the statutes of Richard II., of Henry V., and of Henry VIII., "concerning punishment and reformation of heretics and Lollards;" the recent statutes of the Six Articles, and against uttering certain books; and "all and every other act concerning doctrine and matter of religion," were repealed and utterly annulled. All new Felonies made by statute since the 1st of Henry VIII. were also repealed. The penalties for affirming that the king is not supreme head of the Church were, however, retained. In this comprehensive statute, the despotic law of the preceding reign, that the Proclamations of the King in Council should be as valid as acts of parliament, was, further, wholly repealed.‡ Whatever might be the errors of the Protector's administration, this Statute alone furnishes a proof that the detestable spirit of unbridled tyranny which was the characteristic of the second half of the reign of Henry was not to be perpetuated. In the rebellion of 1549, when the insurgents were moved by the enemies of the Reformation to desire that the laws should be placed again on their tyrannous foundation, Somerset, writing in the name of the king, thus adverted to the circumstances

* "Reformation," Part II. book i.

† "Commentaries," book iv. c. 6, p. 82, of Mr. Kerr's edition.

‡ 1 Edward VI. c. 12.

of their repeal: "The Six Articles, and the statutes that made words treason, and other such severe laws, ye seem to require again; the which all our whole parliament almost, on their knees, required us to abolish and put away; and when we condescended thereto, with a whole voice gave us most humble thanks, for they thought before that no man was sure of his life, lands, or goods. And would you have these laws again? Will you that we shall resume the scourge again, and hard snaffle for your mouths?"* In this short parliament an act was passed regarding "the Sacrament of the Altar." It imposed the penalties of fine and imprisonment upon such as by preaching, reading, arguments, talks, rhymes, songs, or plays, "call it by such vile and unseemly words as Christian ears do abhor to hear rehearsed." There can be no doubt that the abuse and ribaldry with which the doctrine of the real presence had been assailed, had seriously tended to bring all religion into contempt, and had nourished a spirit of irreverence wholly opposed to the principles of the Reformation. But coupled with this enactment was a clause that marked the distinction between the Romish and the Reformed Church, by prescribing that the Sacrament should be administered in both kinds—the bread and the wine—thus providing that the cup should not be refused to the laity. The people, according to the usage of the primitive church, were to receive the sacrament with the priest.† By another Statute, bishops were to be elected by the king's letters patent, and process in the ecclesiastical courts was to be in the king's name.‡ Another Act, which indicates a good intention most unrighteously carried out, provides that all the revenues of chauntries, by which vain opinions of purgatory and masses were upheld, should be bestowed upon the crown; considering that "the alteration, change, and amendment of the same, and converting to good and godly uses, as in erecting of Grammar-Schools to the education of youth in virtue and godliness, the further augmenting of the universities, and better provision for the poor and needy," could not be effected in any other way than by committing their disposition to the king and his council.§ Cranmer, who knew the avidity with which the rapacious courtiers seized upon the spoils of the Church, had the honesty to vote against this bill. The great Reformer was in a minority with Bonner, the most intolerant enemy of Reformation.

The parliament had been prorogued till April, 1548; but, the houses having met, it was alleged that the war betwixt England and Scotland had prevented the attendance of many members, and parliament was again prorogued, and did not finally meet till the 2nd of January, 1549. During this interval of legislation the country was in an unsettled state. The Statute against Vagabonds, passed in the first session,—that cruel enactment which Edward in his Journal calls "an extreme law"—had removed none of the evils of this period of transition.|| The Reformation kept on its steady course; offending the greater number of the people who clung to ancient habits, but gradually winning over the thoughtful and educated to an earnest reception of its principles. In February, 1548, a proclamation went forth to forbid the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day; taking ashes on Ash Wednesday;

* Tytler, "Original Letters," vol. i. p. 180. This is one of the many interesting documents which was first given in Mr. Tytler's collection from the State Paper Office.

† 1 Edward VI. c. 1.

‡ *Ibid.*, c. 2.

§ *Ibid.*, c. 14.

|| See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 469.

and bearing palms on Palm Sunday. The commemoration of Christ's entry into Jerusalem was, in some places, burlesqued in the ancient procession of the wooden ass, before which the people prostrated themselves, and strewed their palm-branches. Burnet has described the differences of opinion as to the abolition of these old ceremonies: "The country-people generally loved all these shows, processions, and assemblies, as things of diversion: and judged it a dull business only to come to church for divine worship and the



Palm Sunday; Procession of the Wooden Ass.

hearing of sermons: therefore they were much delighted with the gaiety and cheerfulness of these rites. But others, observing that they kept up all these things just as the heathens did their plays and festivities for their gods, judged them contrary to the gravity and simplicity of the Christian religion, and were earnest to have them removed."* But the Reformers gave the people something of far higher value than the shows and processions which they took away. They gave them an English Liturgy.

* "Reformation," Part II. book i.

The first measure of the Parliament of 1549 was "An Act for the Uniformity of Service," &c. The preamble states that the king having appointed "the archbishop of Canterbury, and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops and other learned men of this realm," that they should "draw and make one convenient and meet order of common and open prayer and administration of the sacraments," they had "by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement concluded and set forth" the same, "in a book entitled the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England." * This form of service was to be read by all ministers in cathedrals and parish churches, from the ensuing feast of Pentecost, under penalties for refusal; and the book of the said service was to be obtained at the cost of the parishioners, before that festival. The office of the Communion had been previously issued as a separate publication. Of the "Book of the Common Prayer" there were two authorised printers, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. They appear to have commenced the issue as fast as their presses could produce copies; some having the date of March, 1549; some of May, some of June. The price of a copy was limited, thus, by a notice on the last leaf of the folio volume: "The king's majesty, by the advice of his most dear uncle the Lord Protector, and other his highness' council, straitly chargeth and commandeth that no manner of person do sell this present book, unbound, above the price of two shillings and twopence the piece; and the same bound in paste or in boards, not above the price of three shillings and eightpence the piece." † With some variations in a subsequent edition of 1552, which was called "the second book," this Liturgy is not essentially different from that of the present day. It was based upon the ancient catholic services, which had been handed down from the primitive ages of the Church; and which the English people had for generations heard sung or said, without comprehending their meaning. In the western insurrection of 1549, the rebels declared, "We will have the mass in Latin, as was before." The answer of Cranmer to this point of their complaints is a logical appeal to the common sense of Englishmen: "The priest is your proctor and attorney, to plead your cause and to speak for you all; and had you rather not know than know what he saith for you? I have heard suitors murmur at the bar, because their attorneys have pleaded their cases in the French tongue, which they understood not. Why then be you offended that the priests, which plead your cause before God, should speak such language as you may understand?" ‡ The resistance to the Act for the Uniformity of Service, to which the people in some places were stimulated by high counsels and examples, was of itself an indication of the fears of the anti-reformers, that the habitual use of a Common Prayer Book, so pure and simple, so earnest and elevated,—so adapted to the universal wants and feelings of mankind—so touching and solemn in its Offices—would establish the reformed worship upon a foundation which no storm of worldly policy could afterwards overthrow. The change in the habits of the people produced by this Book of Common Prayer must indeed have been great. When they

* 2 & 3 Edward VI. c. 1.

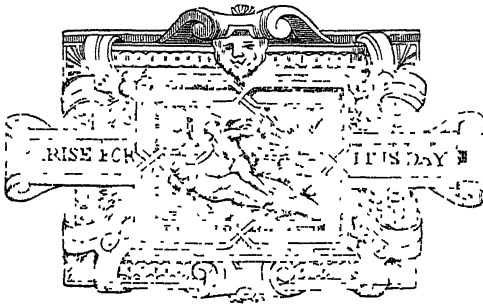
† Herbert's Ames.

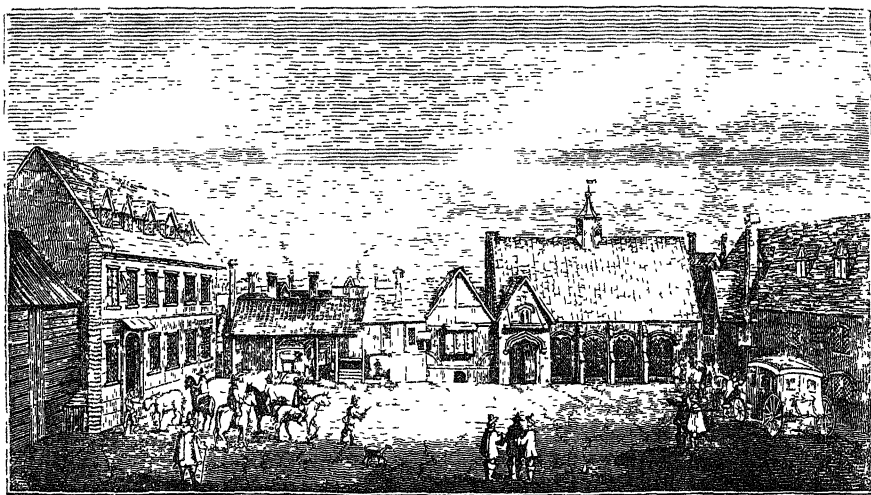
‡ Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer," vol. ii. p. 518. Oxford, 1848.

gathered together in the spacious cathedral or the narrow village church, they no longer heard the Litany sung by the priests in procession; but they joined their own voices to the sacred words which they received into their hearts, with "Spare us good Lord," and "We beseech thee to hear us." This constant feeling that they themselves were to take part in the service, and not be mere listeners to unintelligible though euphonious sentences, was to give a new interest to the reformed worship, far beyond the formal "Amen" of the Latin ritual, and the other routine words which they had been taught to speak, "like pies or parrots." * For a short time it was objected to the new service that "it was like a Christmas game;" but when the people, after a few years, had come to understand this service, in which they took a real part, they could not be readily led back to the "fond play" of their forefathers, "to hear the priest speak aloud to the people in Latin, and the people listen with their ears to hear; and some walking up and down in the church; some saying other prayers in Latin; and none understandeth other." † The English Liturgy, and the constant reading of the Lessons in English, were the corner-stones which held together that Church of England which the reformers had built up. Those who rejected the Liturgy consistently demanded that the English Bible should be called in again. The records of the Printing-press show how vain was such a demand. The art of Gutenberg and Caxton had made a return to the old darkness an impossibility. Not without reason did John Day, one of the printers of the many editions of the Bible that appeared in the reign of Edward VI., take, in allusion to his own name, a device of the sun rising and the sleeper awakened.

* Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer," vol. ii. p. 518. Oxford, 1848.

† *Ibid.*, p. 544.





Arundel House. Granted by Edward VI. to Lord Seymour.

CHAPTER II.

Difficulties of the government of the Protector—Proceedings of his brother, Lord Seymour—His arrest—His attainder and execution—Participation of Somerset in Seymour's condemnation—Dangers of the country—Somerset's attempts to resist the oppression of the Commons—Proclamations against inclosures—Insurrections of 1549—The Cornish and Devonshire rebellion against religious innovations—Siege of Exeter—The Norfolk rebellion against inclosures—Encampments on Mousehold-heath—Dispersion of the rebels—The Scottish war continued.

ALTHOUGH the great ecclesiastical policy of the government of Edward VI. had, during the first two years of the reign, gone steadily onward, the evils incidental to a royal minority were rapidly developing themselves. The power of the Protector was to some extent an usurpation. The authority which had been conferred upon him by letters patent was naturally offensive to many of the council. The resistance of Gardiner and others of the higher clergy kept alive the hostility of the great Romish party. The princess Mary, too, as might have been expected from the determination of her character, refused to conform to the change of religion, and maintained that as her father's executors were sworn to his laws, she should defer her obedience to other laws until the king were of sufficient years to enforce them.* This doctrine was openly or covertly upheld by persons of less importance; and the bonds of submission to the ruling powers of the state were thus relaxed, wherever conscience, so called, could be set up against the duty of the subject. The Protector himself, of whose character it is difficult to judge dispassionately amidst a mass of contradictory opinions, was, like all persons whose authority is in any degree questionable, disposed to enforce it beyond the limits of prudence. He gave offence to a proud nobility, by taking precedence in

* Strype, "Eccl. Memorials," II. part I. p. 238.

parliament, and sitting upon an elevated seat on the right hand of the throne. He gave offence by putting his own opinion above the opinions of the council; so that a Spaniard who had visited England, said that Somerset rode upon so strong and big a horse, that the fair goodly animal carried the Protector and the king's council at once upon his back.* His confidential friend, sir William Paget, ventured to remonstrate against his "great cholerick fashions;" and mentioning a case in which sir Richard a Lee had complained, with weeping, of the Protector's "handling of him," most wisely says, "a king who shall give men discouragement to say their opinions frankly receiveth thereby great hurt and peril to his realm. But a subject in great authority, as your grace is, using such fashion, is like to fall into great danger and peril of his own person, beside that to the commonwealth."† The first great danger and peril which Somerset encountered came from his own brother.

Admiral sir Thomas Seymour, created by Edward VI. lord Seymour of Sudley, had, within a very short time of the death of Henry VIII., become a suitor to his widow, queen Catherine Parr. In king Edward's Journal, immediately after a notice of the recantation of Dr. Smith, at Paul's Cross, on the 15th of May, there is this significant entry:—"The lord Seymour of Sudley married the queen whose name was Catherine, with which marriage the Lord Protector was much offended." The Protector, after the marriage was avowed, withheld the royal widow's jewels, which she alleged the late king had given her; and he opposed her wish as to the lease of a crown manor. Amiable as she appears to have been, she manifested her indignation in no measured terms, in a letter to her husband:—"This shall be to advertise you that my lord your brother hath this afternoon made me a little warm. It was fortunate we were so much distant; for I suppose else I should have bitten him."‡ The wife of lord Seymour was not long fated to kindle her husband's wrath against his brother. She gave birth to a daughter on the 1st of September, 1548, and died on the 7th. Seymour had hoped for a son, "trusting," as he writes to his wife in June, that, "if God should give him life to live as long as his father, he will revenge such wrongs as neither you nor I can at this present."§ It appears not improbable that what Seymour deemed his wrongs were the results of his brother's sense of his public duty. There is a remarkable letter of the Protector to the lord admiral, dated on the 1st of September, 1548, in which he remonstrates against his brother's conduct in his private relations with his neighbours:—"If you do so behave yourself amongst your poor neighbours, and others the king's subjects, that they may have easily just cause to complain upon you, and so you do make them a way and cause to lament unto us and pray redress, we are most sorry therefore, and would wish very heartily it were otherwise; which were both more honour for you, and quiet and joy and comfort for us. But if you mean it, that for our part we are ready to receive poor men's complaints, that findeth or thinketh themselves injured or grieved, it is our duty and office so to do. And though you be our brother, yet we may not refuse it upon you."||

The death of the queen, his wife, opened to the rash and turbulent Seymour, a new prospect for his ambition. If the scandalous stories of that

* Strype, "Ecol. Memorials," II. part I. p. 238.

† *Ibid.* part II. p. 427.

‡ Haynes' Burghley Papers.

§ Tytler, vol. i. p. 103.

|| Tytler, vol. i. p. 121.

time are to be believed—and they appear in the evidence of the princess Elizabeth's governess—there had been many strange familiarities between the admiral and the princess, then a girl of fifteen, who was residing under the care of queen Catherine.* He now paid secret addresses to the princess; who appears, in that spirit of coquetry which she retained through life, to have given some encouragement to a man who is described as “fierce in courage, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnificent, but somewhat empty in matter.”† It was one of the charges against him, as set forth in Articles of Treason in the Council Book, that before he married the queen he attempted to marry “the lady Elizabeth, second inheritor in remainder to the crown,” but was then prevented by the Lord Protector, and others of the council. The charge then goes on to say, “that you sithence that time, both in the life of the queen continued your old labour and love, and after her death, by secret and crafty means, practised to achieve the said purpose of marrying the said lady Elizabeth, to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state, of the same.”‡ In January, 1549, Seymour was arrested and sent to the Tower. The opposition to his designs upon the princess Elizabeth had probably driven him to engage in the rash enterprises which led to his destruction.

The proceedings against Seymour were conducted under that approved instrument of oppression, a bill of attainder. After his committal he had been several times examined; but on the 23rd of February the council proceeded to the Tower, and presented to him thirty-three articles, to which they required his answers. He demanded a trial, and to be confronted with his accusers. This demand was refused; and the articles formed the foundation of the bill of attainder, which was brought into the house of lords. “Then the evidence was brought. Many lords gave it so fully that all the rest with one voice consented to the bill; only the Protector, for natural pity's sake, as is in the Council Book, desired leave to withdraw.”§ The bill was sent to the Commons; but some of the old constitutional feeling had revived; and it was urged that the admiral should be heard upon a trial. But the Lords who had given evidence went to the House of Commons, and there repeating what they had said, the bill passed. The royal assent was given on the 5th of March; and the unhappy man was executed on the 20th. The warrant for his execution was signed, amongst others of the council, by Somerset and by Cranmer. The historian of Edward VI. says, with regard to the Protector, “Hereupon many of the nobility cried out upon him that he was a blood-sucker, a murderer, a parricide, || a villain, and that it was not fit the king should be under the protection of such a ravenous wolf.”¶ The extent to which a determination to sacrifice private feelings to public duty may carry a statesman, can scarcely be estimated by those who treat of such matters with the natural sympathies of the unfortunate, and the common reverence for the ties of blood. But it is clear that Somerset was not of a cruel nature; and we may readily believe in the record of the

* Burghley Papers.

† Burnet, Records, part II. No. 31.

§ Burnet.

|| The term “parricide” was not always restricted to the murderer of a father or mother. Blackstone explains the *parricide* of the Roman Law as “the murder of one's parent or children,” b. iv. c. 14.

† Hayward, “Life of Edward VI.”

¶ Hayward.

council, which says that the necessity for his brother's attainder was felt by him to be "heavy, lamentable, and sorrowful." It would appear, also, from a trustworthy evidence, that the sad alternative of a brother's death, or the danger of the State, was in some degree forced upon him. The princess Elizabeth, when she was suspected of being privy to a conspiracy against her sister, queen Mary, earnestly entreated to be admitted to see her; saying, "I have heard in my time of many cast away for want of coming to the presence of their prince; and, in late days, I have heard my lord Somerset say that, if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered; but the persuasions were made to him so great, that he was brought in belief that he could not live safely if the admiral lived, and that made him give his consent to his death." * "He could not live safely if the admiral lived" would seem to make the quarrel between the two brothers a mere personal question. But in this quarrel the tranquillity of the government was involved. The realm was surrounded with dangers. The war with Scotland and France required that the people should be united for defence; but they were greatly divided in religious opinions, and a large proportion of the labouring population were disposed to insurrection. There can be little doubt that, if Seymour had no designs upon the young king's life, he sought to make himself master of his person. He had propitiated the boy by little kindnesses, which contrasted with Somerset's somewhat strict governorship; and he had endeavoured to persuade the king that it was his interest to take the royal authority into his own hands. Edward himself was examined before the Council, and his testimony furnishes a very sufficient example of the public dangers of a minority, under which the executive power does not rest upon well defined constitutional principles. Edward from the first was a puppet in the hands of Somerset; and his name was often affixed to important papers by a stamp which the Protector used. That a quick and intelligent youth should desire to be freed from a somewhat stern control, was an inevitable consequence of his position; and Seymour made an artful use of this discontent, to supplant his brother, and in so doing to convulse the government. It is tolerably clear that Edward regarded his uncle, the Protector, with slight affection. The marquis of Dorset in his examination before the Council said, "The king's majesty hath divers times made his moan unto me; saying that my uncle of Somerset dealeth very hardly with me, and keepeth me so strait that I cannot have money at my will; but my lord admiral both sends me money and gives me money." One sentence of the young king's statement is conclusive as to the effect which had been produced upon his mind by the intrigues of Seymour: "Within this two year at least, he [the admiral] said, ye must take upon yourself to rule, for ye shall be-able enough, as well as other kings, and then ye may give your men somewhat; for your uncle is old, and I trust will not live long. I answered, it were better that he should die." † Seymour had fortified Holt Castle; had tampered with sir John Sharrington, the master of the mint at Bristol, to furnish him with a large supply of money, as Sharrington confessed; and had taken measures to embody a large armed force. Unless

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 256.

† These curious revelations are in the Burghley Papers, published by Haynes.
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we were to refuse our belief to a great body of testimony, however illegally applied to the purpose of attainder, we must believe that Seymour suffered the inevitable, and in many respects just, punishment of those who seek to change a government by craft and violence, and fail in the enterprise. The reformers appear to have associated the designs of Seymour with some covert objects of hostility to the changes of religion. Cranmer signed his death-warrant; "which," says Burnet, "being in a cause of blood was contrary to the canon law." * * * But it seems Cranmer thought his conscience was under no tie from these canons, and so judged it not contrary to his function to sign that order. The act was one of those compliances with power, of which the life of Cranmer furnishes too many proofs. Latimer preached a sermon before the king, in which he said of Seymour that "he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly." It appears from this sermon, that Latimer was indignant at a characteristic act of the unhappy man, who nourished his revenge at the last hour. He had contrived to write letters to



Process of Coming.

the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, to excite their hatred of the Protector, who was represented therein as their great enemy; and these letters, sewed in a velvet shoe, were to be delivered by his servant after his death, to whom he sent a message that "he should speed the thing that he wot of." Latimer in his sermon exclaimed, "What would he have done, if he had lived still, that went about that gear when he had laid his head on the block?" * In the statute book, the act of attainder of sir John Sharrington precedes that

* Strype, Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. part i. p. 198. This passage of Latimer's Fourth Sermon before King Edward, is only found in the first edition of the Sermons.

of lord Seymour. The charge against him was that he had forged twelve thousand pounds of the king's coin; and had also defrauded the government by clipping and shearing the coin, making false entries in his indentures. This master of the Bristol mint was alleged to have handed over ten thousand pounds of this false coin to the use of Seymour. This was at the period when the money of the State was enormously debased; so that the government which thus cheated its subjects was cheated by its own officer. The clipping and shearing was an easy process when the current money was roughly hammered out; and, having no milled edge, could be slightly reduced in size without detection.* Sharrington was ultimately pardoned, probably because he had betrayed the man who incited him to his offence; and Latimer proclaimed that his fervent repentance warranted his being forgiven.

The circumstances under which Somerset was placed in supreme power, although carrying on the government in the name of the young king, were such as to demand the union of the highest qualities of the statesman. The rule of Henry VIII. had been of the most arbitrary nature; putting down all opposition of the great by a system of terror; and repressing the crimes and disorders of the humble by the sternest administration of sanguinary laws. Somerset was, by nature, and out of the necessity of his position, opposed to harsh courses. The preamble of the statute for the repeal of the new laws of treason says, that, although these laws of Henry VIII. were "expedient and necessary," they might appear "very strait, sore, extreme, and terrible;" but as in tempest or winter, one garment is convenient, and in calm or warm weather a lighter garment may be worn, so the sore laws of one time may be taken away in a calmer and quieter reign.† This belief in a coming halcyon season, when men by diligent teaching should be won to the knowledge of the truth—when all should be contented to live under the reign of clemency and love—was doubtless the foundation of Somerset's policy. But he stood apart from the men who had been trained to administer the rough discipline of Henry's tyranny; and who had no sympathy with the great mass of the people. Somerset really saw that a State was something more than a king, a nobility, a church, an army;—that there were other interests to be regarded besides those of property; and that, to use the words of one of his confidential officers, "if the poorest sort of the people, which be members of the same body as well as the rich, be not provided and cherished in their degree, it cannot but be a great trouble of the body, and a decay of the strength of the realm."‡ But Somerset had not those rare qualities of firmness and prudence which can make a mild government safe in unsettled times. He saw oppression everywhere around him—the powerful assailing the weak by open tyranny, or under the forms of law—the judges venal—the courts of justice practically closed to the needy suitor; and he attempted to redress these evils by his own personal vigilance. He opened a Court of Requests, where he himself heard complaints, and interfered with the regular tribunals to prescribe equitable remedies. This is the oriental system of justice, which looks so beautiful in a

* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 474.

† 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

‡ The charge of John Hales for redress of inclosures. Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii. part ii. p. 356.

Haroun Alraschid, but which is simply an indication of a general corruption too powerful for the laws. Paget, an acute and honest adviser, wrote to Somerset, "meddle no more with private suits, but remit them to ordinary courses." Somerset would feel that the ordinary courses were evil, and beyond his power legally to remedy. Latimer preached that Cambyses was a great emperor who flayed a judge alive, and laid his skin in his chair of judgment, for that the judge was "a briber, a gift-taker, a gratifier of rich men." Latimer cried out, "I pray God we may once see the sign of the skin in England."* But if the official system were too dangerous for Somerset to meddle with by constitutional methods, so were the oppressions of tenants by landlords, and of labourers by masters. The evils of society were of too complicated a nature to be dealt with by any one bold measure for the redress of grievances. Even if the government could have seen how vain were all attempts to regulate prices—how impossible to prevent men applying capital to land in the way most profitable—the Protector could scarcely have forborne yielding to the popular clamour. Proclamations were issued "for the speedy reformation of the unreasonable prices of victuals in markets;" and "against inclosures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accustomed to lie open for the behoof of the inhabitants dwelling near to the same."† Of course these proclamations were wholly ineffectual. There was a general scarcity throughout Europe; and the nominal prices of commodities were raised in England by the tampering with the coin. Those who were commanded by the proclamation against inclosures to throw open their parks and pastures by a certain day, held the order in contempt; for in the country districts they were the sole administrators of local authority. But there was a spirit in the English people against which Paget had warned Somerset when he first took the reins of government. "What is the matter troweth your grace? By my faith, sir, even that which I said to your grace in the gallery at the Tower, the next day after the king's first coming there—Liberty, Liberty."‡ The old Saxon temper had not been trodden out. The government was powerless to redress the complaints of the masses, and they rushed into insurrection. There had been a partial rising in Cornwall in 1548; for which a general pardon was granted to all, with the exception of the leaders. In the summer of 1549 half of England was in a state of rebellion. Somerset promised pardons, and Cranmer sent forth exhortations. Paget, who looked at any tumult of the people as only to be met in one way, called upon his friend to "do like a king, in this matter especially; take a noble courage to you for your proceedings; wherein take example at other kings; and you need not seek further for the matter—go no further than to him who died last, of most noble memory, king Henry VIII."§ The people of England were never reduced to a healthful condition of obedience to power by the assertion of the principle of terror if separated from justice. The dreaded spirit of "Liberty, Liberty," might be kept down when it was abused; but it had never been extinguished; and subsequent experience demonstrated that it would always survive even its own licentiousness.

* Third Sermon before Edward VI.

† Holinshed, p. 1002.

‡ Paget to Somerset. Strype, vol. ii. part ii. p. 482.

§-Strype, Eccles. Memorials, vol. ii. part ii. p. 434

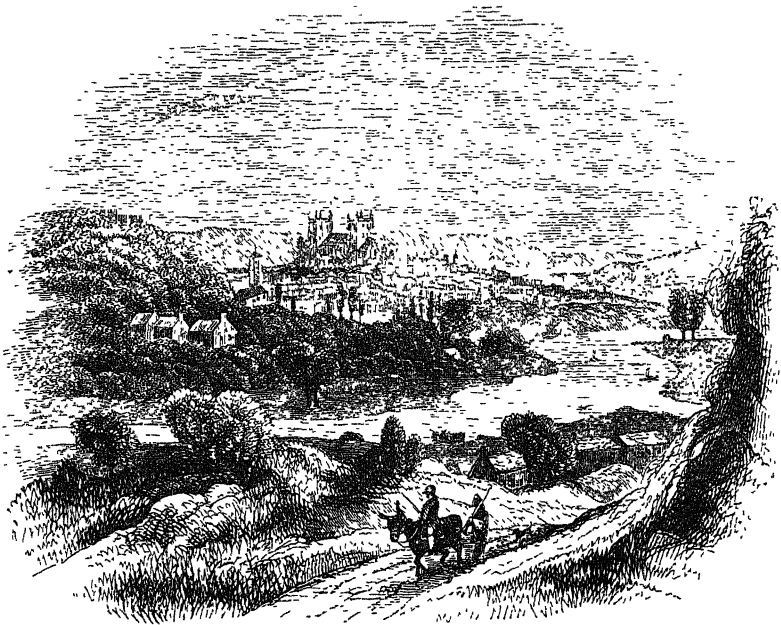
The Cornish and Devonshire insurrection, and that of Norfolk, form one of the most striking passages of our history of the sixteenth century. This simultaneous revolt was essentially different in its character from either of the great insurrections of the two previous centuries. The rebellion of Wat Tyler was a protest against the oppressions of the labourers, who belonged to a period when slavery retained many of its severities without its accompanying protection. The insurrection of Jack Cade was in its essential elements political. But the rebellion that came exactly a century after that of 1450, was a democratic or social movement, stimulated by, and mixed up with, hostility to the change of religion. The government was embarrassed by the complexity of the motives upon which these insurrections were founded. Somerset himself thus described them in August, while they were raging in the west, the east, and the north: "The causes and pretences of their uproars and risings are divers and uncertain; and so full of variety almost in every camp, as they call them, that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know is like to be of people without head and rule, and would have that they know not what. Some cry, pluck down inclosures and parks; some for their commons; others pretend religion; a number would rule and direct things as gentlemen have done; and indeed, all have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and take them all as their enemies. The ruffians among them, and soldiers cashiered, which be the chief-doers, look for spoil; so that it seems no other thing but a plague and a fury among the vilest and worst sort of men."* The "vilest and worst sort of men" always impart the most marked character to insurrections; but Somerset's own account shows that "those who look for spoil" did not constitute the majority of the insurgents. A brief narrative of these extraordinary proceedings, of which Exeter and Norwich were the chief seats, will best show the nature of these outbreaks, and furnish illustrations of the condition of society.

On Whit-Sunday, the 19th of June, divine service had been performed at the parish-church of Sampford Courtenay, about sixteen miles from Exeter. On that day the Act for Uniformity of Service came into operation. The village congregation had listened to the prayers in the English tongue, and had departed to their homes. In their Sunday groups for gossip and recreation they had discussed this innovation upon their old customs, and it was not satisfactory to them. On the Whit-Monday, the day of church-ales and morris-dances, some of the parishioners, headed by a tailor and a labourer, went to the priest, as he was preparing for the morning service, and told him, "they would keep the old and ancient religion as their forefathers before them had done;" and he yielded to their wills, and forthwith arrayed himself "in his old popish attire," and said mass, as in times past.† The justices of the peace interfered, but without effect; and in a short time the example spread through Devonshire and Cornwall, and the people began to assemble in great companies. At Crediton there was a forcible resistance to sir Peter Carew, and other gentlemen; and again at Cliff. In a short time the highways were stopped by cutting trenches and throwing down trees; and the multitude, continuing to increase, on the 2nd of July commenced a regular

* Somerset to Hoby, ambassador to the emperor. Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, v. ii. part ii. p. 425.

† We are following as an authority the very curious narrative of John Vowell, the chamberlain of Exeter, printed in Holinshed.

siege of Exeter, the gates of which city were closed against them. Their captains were originally a tailor, a shoemaker, a labourer, and a fishmonger; but as they marched forward, carrying the cross, they were joined by a few gentlemen and yeomen. When they had set down before the city, their numbers daily swelled so that they completely surrounded it, and cut off all supplies from the neighbouring districts. They burnt the gates; they destroyed the conduits which supplied the water of the town; they undermined the walls. They had ordnance and ammunition; and "soldiers cashiered" taught them how to use them. But the majority of the Exeter citizens, under the guidance of the mayor, bravely resisted, although many were inclined to favour the designs of the insurgents. There were contests among themselves; but the greater number were steadfast, even though they began to suffer the usual miseries of a beleaguered town. For five weeks this contest went on.



Exeter

The government was issuing proclamations to the rebels, and distributing Cranmer's wise and gentle replies to their demands. The news of the commotions soon went forth to foreign lands. The prime minister of Charles V. told Paget that he had heard of the "*grand barbularye*" of the English commons; "but it is nothing if Monsieur Protector step to it betimes, and travail in person as the emperor himself did, with the sword of justice in his hand."* On the 16th of July martial law was proclaimed; and all were forbidden, under pain of death, "by drum, tabret, pipe, or any other instrument

* Tytler, vol. i. p. 184.

striking or sounding, bell or bells ringing,—by opening, crying, posting, riding, running,—or by any news, rumours, or tales, divulging and spreading, or by any other device or token whatsoever,—to call together or muster any number of people.”* Lord Russell had gathered a small force at the commencement of these troubles; but he looked in vain for aid of men or money from the government. At length some merchants of Exeter who were in his camp, having pledged their credit, obtained for him a supply of money; and he marched forward with reinforcements. After an engagement with a band of the insurgents, he at length was joined by lord Grey, who had opportunely arrived with a troop of horse and three hundred Italian infantry. A more fierce encounter took place at Cliff, where the rebels were routed with great slaughter. The prisoners who had been taken in a previous engagement were here put to the sword. The besiegers of Exeter now boldly marched to encounter the king’s troops; and upon Cliff heath a bloody battle took place, with the inevitable result that attends the contest of an armed multitude with disciplined troops. “Great was the slaughter, and cruel was the fight; and such was the valour and stoutness of these men, that the lord Grey reported, himself, that he never in all the wars that he had been in did know the like.” When Exeter was relieved, and the insurgents dispersed or slain, executions went forward to an extent which even the minister of the emperor might have approved. One of these tragedies was perpetrated in a way not calculated to appease the religious hatreds of the period. The vicar of St. Thomas, who had encouraged the rebellion, was hanged upon the top of the tower of his own church “in his popish apparel, and had a holy-water bucket and sprinkle, a sacring-bell, a pair of beads, and such other like popish trash hanging about him.”†

The Norfolk rebellion appears to have been of a wholly different character from that of the west of England. The Devonshire rising commenced in a church. The Norfolk rising commenced in a fair. On the 6th of July a large number of people were assembled at Wymondham, at a “public play which had been accustomed yearly to be kept in that town, continuing for the space of one night and one day at the least.” The itinerant players had repeated their interlude again and again. The Vice had flourished his dagger, and the Fool his bauble. In the uncouth rhymes to which the peasants listened there were probably some incentives to disorder; for on the 6th of August following, a Proclamation was issued prohibiting such performances in London and elsewhere, for a limited time; for, it says, “the common players do for the most part play such interludes as contain matter tending to sedition and condemning of sundry good orders and laws, whereupon are grown, and daily are like to grow and cause much disquiet, division, tumults,” &c.‡ From gaping at the play the clowns proceeded to break down hedges. John Flowerdew, gentleman, and Robert Ket, tanner, dwelling near Wymondham, had some private grievances, and each instigated the mob to destroy the inclosures of the other. Ket, “being a man hardy and forward to any desperate attempt,” thought this pastime might be carried further. He put himself at their head, calling upon them “to follow him in defence

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. ii. part i. p. 267.

† Vowell, in Holinshed, p. 1026.

‡ The Proclamation is given in Collier’s “Annals of the Stage,” vol. i. p. 141.

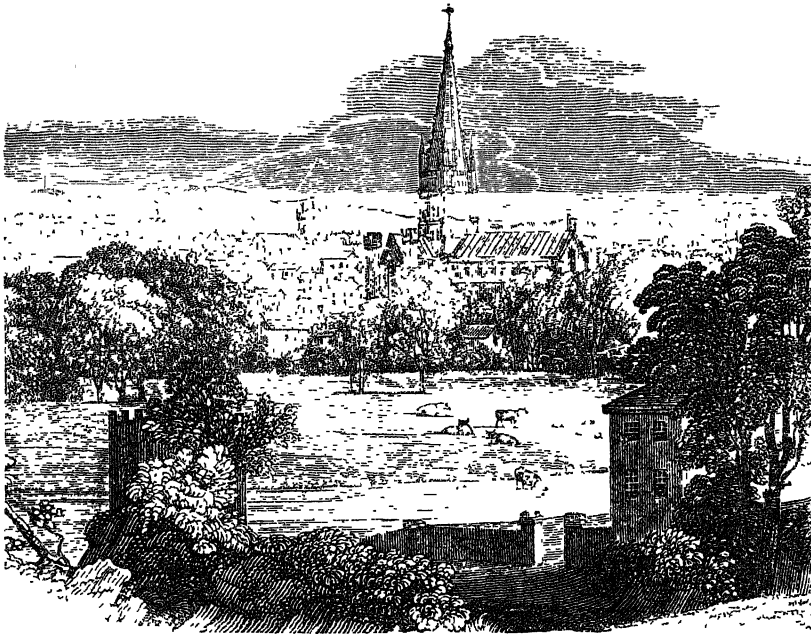
of their common liberty." People continued to join this band in great numbers; and supplies of weapons, armour, and artillery were brought to them out of Norwich. At a short distance from the city is an elevated ground called Mousehold-heath. Holinshed, whose narrative we are following, says, they "got them to Mousehold; and coming to St. Leonard's hill, on which the earl of Surrey had built a stately house called Mount Surrey, they inkenned themselves there on the same hill, and in the woods adjoining that lie on the west and the south side of the same hill, as the commons or pasture called Mousehold-heath lieth on the east side." This formidable band was at first kept in some order by their bold leader. They sent for the vicar of one of the Norwich parishes to say prayers in their camp. They suffered the mayor of Norwich to come amongst them without molestation. Ket gave judgment against evil-doers, sitting in state under an oak which was called "the tree of reformation." It was a time of feasting and holiday for this thoughtless multitude, who revelled in the spoils of the neighbouring deer-parks, and brought in the fat sheep by thousands from the inclosures which they had broken down. By the advice of a citizen of Norwich the council sent a herald to the camp at Mousehold, who, in his coat of arms, standing under the tree of reformation, proclaimed the king's pardon to all who would depart to their homes. The multitude shouted "God save the king!" and some fell on their knees and wept. But Ket cried out that pardon was for those who had done amiss; and commanded them not to forsake him. The herald then proclaimed him a traitor, and departed. Matters soon came to a more serious issue. The rebels entered Norwich, and carried the mayor and many of the principal citizens prisoners to their camp. It was time for the government to bestir itself; and the royal letters were sent forth to the nobility and gentlemen throughout the country to assemble in arms; for that "one Ket, a tanner, supported by a great many of vile and idle persons, hath taken upon him our royal power and dignity, and calleth himself master and king of Norfolk and Suffolk."*

When the royal herald returned to London this extraordinary encampment on Mousehold-heath had lasted a full month. Out of the verbose details of the chronicler we may collect enough of exact description to enable us to form a conception of this wonderful scene. In the height of summer a vast assemblage of peasants and artisans is collected, as if for some great festival, on a broad eminence overlooking one of the wealthiest, because one of the most industrious, cities of England. Beneath them is the lofty cathedral, its noble spire rising above the low timber houses, and o'ertopping the many towers of the surrounding churches. They hear the matin and the evening bells of the sacred edifices. They are not indifferent to the offices of religion, and have prayers in their camp,—“so religiously rebellious are they;”† and they listen patiently to preachers who exhort them to disperse. They look upon the great baronial castle, at a short distance, in the days of whose mighty lords yeoman and peasant were equally serfs; and they wonder if those were better times in England when the collar on the neck ensured abundance for the stomach. They had abundance just now. Their leader sends out his orders to bring in provisions, with all the authority

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. ii. part i. p. 272.

† Fuller.

of a victorious general arranging his commissariat: "We, the king's friends and deputies do grant licence to all men to provide and bring into the camp at Mousehold all manner of cattle, and provision of victuals, in what place soever they may find the same, so that no violence or injury be done to any honest or poor man; commanding all persons as they tender the king's honour and royal majesty, and the relief of the commonwealth, to be obedient to us the governors, and to those whose names ensue."* The multitude that obeyed the tanner of Wymondham was a body far more formidable than



Norwich.

the rabble with which the fisherman of Naples enforced submission to his decrees. The greater number of this host were peasants—but they were accustomed to the use of arms. They were confederated for a purpose which they understood, and not for vague political changes. They believed themselves oppressed; and they thought that their grievances would be remedied by the mere act of assembling together in such vast crowds. Without such a conviction amongst them, it is impossible to understand how so many thousand men should have slept upon the ground for seven weeks, with uncertain supplies of food; and when they went forth to seek supplies, constantly exposed to the attacks of the surrounding gentry, who were collecting their retainers in every quarter. At last, a force of fifteen hundred horsemen, led by the marquis of Northampton, arrived to give them some active occupation. At this juncture the mayor of Norwich was in the

* Holinshed, p. 1030.

hands of the insurgents; and the citizens were in daily dread of attack and plunder. The royal forces marched into Norwich; and their leader and the panic-stricken authorities held a consultation how the city should be best defended. The walls and gates were guarded; and "the residue of the soldiers making a mighty large fire in the market-place, so as all the streets were full of light, they remained there all that night in their armour." Before daybreak a fierce attack was made on the walls and gates; and after a fight of three hours the insurgents were driven back. The next day the marquis despatched Norroy king-at-arms to the camp, with an offer of pardon. The terms were despised, and Norroy was told "that they would either restore the commonwealth from decay, into the which it was fallen, being oppressed through the covetousness and tyranny of the gentlemen; either else would they, like men, die in the quarrel." The herald had no time to report his answer; for the whole multitude came furiously on; entered the city; fought with the royal troops in the streets; slew lord Sheffield, one of the chief captains; took many prisoners; and caused



Armed knight, temp. Edward VI. From the Tower Armoury.

Northampton to flee hastily to London. The earl of Warwick was preparing to march with an army to Scotland, when these commotions in the eastern districts became so alarming. The rebels had now complete possession of Norwich. Many of the citizens had fled; and had met Warwick upon his march from Cambridge, who had reproved them for their remissness in not resisting the outbreak in its early stages. The army reached Norwich; and again the herald was instructed to proclaim the king's pardon if the rebels would disperse. Ket was proceeding with the herald to confer with the earl; but his purpose was interrupted by his own men, who rejected

the pacific offers. Hostilities were resumed; and such was the courage and endurance of this multitude that Warwick was repulsed in several attempts to gain the city. His ammunition waggons were interrupted; some of his pieces of ordnance were seized; his affairs became so desperate that many of his officers advised his abandonment of the enterprise against such a huge multitude. Then ensued a scene, familiar enough in dramatic representations, but not common in real warfare. Warwick, protesting that he would rather lose his life than be so dishonoured, drew his sword. The action was followed by his captains; and he commanded "that each one should kiss other's sword, according to an ancient custom used amongst men of war in time of great danger." They swore upon their swords never to depart, but to vanquish or to fall. While Warwick was at this extremity, Somerset, deceived or deceiving, was writing thus to sir Philip Hoby, ambassador to the emperor. "The earl of Warwick lieth near to the rebels in Norfolk; which fain now would have grace gladly, so that all might be pardoned. Ket, and

the other arch-traitors in the number, upon that is at a stay; and they daily shrink so fast away that there is great hope that they will leave their captains destitute, and alone to receive their worthy reward; the which is the thing we most desire, to spare as much as may be the effusion of blood, and, namely, that of our own nation." * It appears from the royal letter of the 6th of August that Somerset was originally appointed to proceed with an army to the suppression of the Norfolk rebellion. Had he been the commander, the spirit of the soldier would have perhaps extinguished some of the merciful feeling of the statesman; and he would have cared as little for "the effusion of blood" as in his Scottish campaigns. The fortunes of Somerset and Warwick were in some measure determined by the contrast between the final suppressor of a rebellion, and one who had indirectly encouraged the principle upon which it was commenced. The issue was soon put beyond doubt. On the 26th of August Warwick received an accession to his force, of fourteen hundred cavalry. The stirring scene of the oath on the swords had taken place the day previous. The camp of Ket was not so easily provided with food as in the preceding seven weeks when he sent out his purveyors to scour the country. Warwick had possession of the roads to Mousehold-heath; and the cabins of bushes had now hungry inmates. On the 27th the rebels resolved to break up their encampment. There were old prophecies current amongst them, one of which gave a direction to their march:—

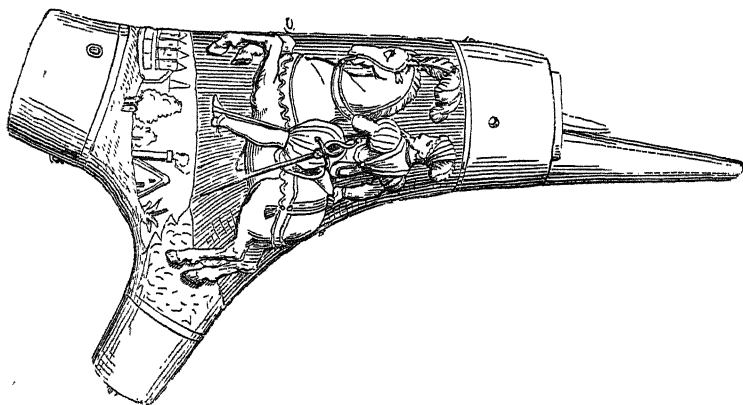
"The country chuffs, Hob, Dick, and Hick,
With clubs and clouted shoon,
Shall fill up Dussin-dale with blood
Of slaughtered bodies soon."

They set fire to their cabins; and, with ensigns flying, marched down from their strong position into Dussin-dale. Here they formed a rampart of stakes; and setting their prisoners in the foremost ranks, waited the approach of the royal troops. They came, still holding out pardon to the general body. It was refused; and the battle commenced. The insurgents fought with their pikes and pitchforks; and they were not without fire-arms. Both at Norwich and at Exeter we hear nothing of the old English prowess of the bow. The chronicler speaks of ordnance, and firing with guns, and mining with gunpowder on the part of the rebels. The forces that came against them were, doubtless, far better armed, with the wheel-lock pistols of the time for the horsemen, and the harquebuss for the infantry. Dussin-dale was soon filled with the "slaughtered bodies," not of the English harquebussiers and German lance-knights of Warwick's army, but of the wretched country chuffs. After the flight of the main body of the insurgents, many held out long, "so inclosed with their carts, carriages, trenches, and stakes pitched in the ground," that it was dangerous to attack them. They at first refused the offered pardon; for they maintained that the promise was "a subtle practice to bring them into the hands of their adversaries, the gentlemen." Warwick at last offered to go himself amongst them, and give his word that they should receive pardon; and at length they threw down their weapons, and cried, "God save king Edward." Robert Ket and his

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. ii. part ii. p. 424.

brother were conveyed to London; and being convicted of treason, were hanged at Norwich. Others were hanged upon the oak of reformation. But more were spared than was agreeable to the terror-stricken landlords of East-Anglia. Warwick answered their exhortations to revenge with a sagacious reference to their own interests: "Is there no place for pardon? What shall we do? Shall we hold the plough ourselves; play the carters and labour the ground with our own hands?" Hob and Dick were to be accounted as of some value in the commonwealth.

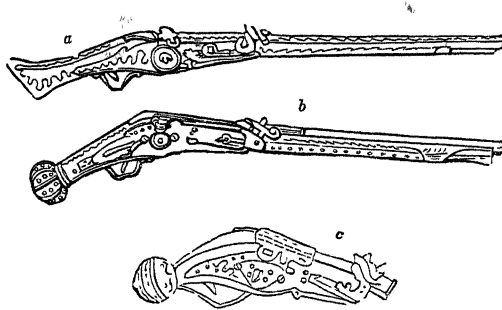
After Somerset had gained the battle of Pinkie, in the autumn of 1547, he returned, as we have seen, suddenly to London, leaving to others to reap the harvest of his victory, if any were to be reaped. The results of that great scattering of the Scottish power were not favourable to the English influence. The nobility of Scotland resolved to apply for assistance to France; and at



Sculptured Powder-flask. From the Meyrick Collection.

the instigation of the queen-dowager, the young queen Mary was offered in marriage to the Dauphin of France. In 1548 Haddington was taken by the English under lord Gray of Wilton; and several other minor successes were accomplished. But in June a large force, partly French and partly German, arrived at Leith; and an army of Scots, with these auxiliaries, marched to recover Haddington. A parliament, or convention, that was hastily assembled, ratified the treaty for the marriage; and the child-queen was received at Dunbarton on board a French vessel which had entered the Clyde and then sailed to France. In August, Mary was solemnly contracted to the Dauphin. The war was continued with various success; but on the whole was unfavourable to the English. Haddington was relieved, after the garrison had endured the greatest suffering by famine. The English fleet was repulsed by the peasantry in several attacks upon the Scottish coast. At the time of the insurrections of 1549, the government of Somerset was preparing to carry on the contest with renewed vigour. The French

auxiliaries who remained in Scotland had become distasteful to the people, and the king of France was more intent upon recovering Boulogne than of aiding his Scotch allies. The war with Scotland was, however, too burdensome to be vigorously pursued by England; the Scots recovered many of their strong places; and even Haddington was evacuated on the 1st of October, in the year of England's domestic troubles.



a, dag; b, pistol; time of Edward VI.
c, pocket-pistol, time of Mary.



Great Seal of Edward VI.

CHAPTER III.

Position of domestic affairs after the suppression of the insurrections—Somerset accused of lenity—Confederacy against the power of Somerset—Edward carried from Hampton Court to Windsor—Somerset deserted—Lord Russell with the army of the West takes part against him—He is conveyed to the Tower—Articles exhibited against him—His humiliation and release—Parliament assembled—Law against unlawful assemblies—Anabaptists excepted from a general pardon—Burning of Joan Bocher—Cranmer and the king—Articles of belief—Canon law—Bonner, Gardiner, and other bishops deprived and imprisoned—Resistance of the Princess Mary to the new Services—Release of Somerset—His second fall—His execution—Foreign Churches in England—Peace with France and Scotland—Power of Northumberland—Illness of king Edward—Marriage of Northumberland's son to Lady Jane Grey—Edward determines to alter the succession—His death.

WARWICK has returned to London. The slaughter of Dussin-dale has given him political power as well as military renown. If Somerset had listened to the advice of Paget to go himself against the rebels with four thousand Almain horsemen—to give them no good words or promises—to hang the disaffected in every shire without redemption—he might have held his office in safety. But Paget knew the nature of the man: "Your grace may say, I shall lose the hearts of the people." Somerset clung to his popularity—and fell from his high place, on the first assault of a faction that he had mortally offended by the "lenity" and "softness" with which Paget reproaches him. This frank monitor imputes to these qualities that the king's subjects were "out of all discipline, out of obedience, caring neither for Protector nor king, and much less for any other mean officer. And what is the cause? Your own lenity, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor; the opinion of such as saith to your grace, oh, sir, there was never man had the hearts of the poor as you have. Oh, the commons pray for you, sir;" they say, God save your life. I know your gentle heart right well, and that

your meaning is good and godly; however some evil men list to prate here, that you have some greater enterprize in your head that lean so much to the multitude." * Strype observes upon this letter,—“Paget's temper, naturally disposed to severity, and confirmed therein by the methods he had observed in bishop Gardiner, under whom he had been bred, led him to principles of government perhaps too rigorous, and by some wise men in those days disliked; as thinking it not safe to hold such a strait hand over the commons, and to press and keep them under in a kind of slavery, which English spirits would not, nor could, digest.” † The temper thus imputed to Paget is one that has always found favour amongst the large class who see, or affect to see, nothing but evil in strengthening the influence of the democratic principles of our English constitution; and thus it has been somewhat the fashion, even with historians who write without a strong religious bias, to impugn the character of Somerset. But in an age in which the humblest were trampled upon without mercy or justice, it is something to find one in the highest place earning the hatred of the great by his desire to have “the hearts of the poor.” The rarity of the example ought to make us examine with a charitable caution the motives and actions of a man who almost stood alone in the attempt, however impolitic, to build up the state upon a broader foundation than the interests of the privileged classes. The favourite doctrine which was inculcated upon the young king was that “the ambition and tyranny of the nobility were much more tolerable than the insolence, inconstancy, peril, and ignorance of the multitude In the monarchy or estate of a prince, if the prince be good, like as he keepeth his commons void of power, even so he preserveth them from the tyranny of the nobility If the tyranny of the nobility be more tolerable than the insolence of the multitude, much more tolerable then is the prince's tyranny than the commons' power.” These maxims are from a discourse made by William Thomas, clerk of the council, “for the king's use.” ‡ They were the maxims which had been gradually raising up the ancient limited monarchy of England into a despotism; after the organised power of the feudal nobility, which had held the monarchy in check, had been destroyed. They were the maxims which endured for a century longer, till the other dreaded power had become organised; and a terrible experience of their fallacy became a warning for all after ages.

The record in Edward's Journal of this period of his reign is evidently retrospective. It was written after the power of his uncle had passed away; and when the king was under opposite influences. The coldness with which he speaks of the transactions of 1549 is very remarkable; and if this does not manifest the truth of Mr. Hallam's suspicion that he had “not a good heart,” it somewhat establishes the other belief that he had “too much Tudor blood in his veins.” § Edward's narrative is very compact; and we may as well follow it, giving illustrations as we proceed.

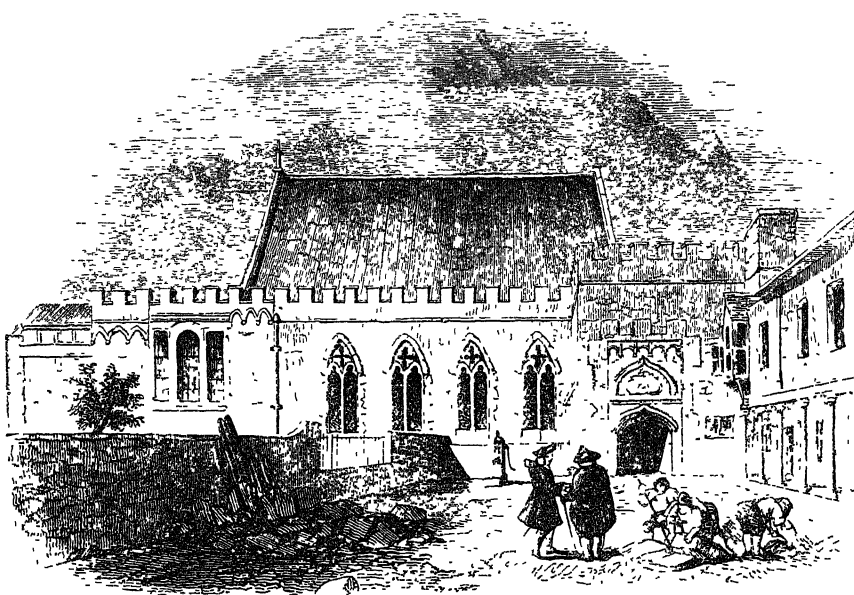
“In the mean season in England rose great stirs, like to increase much if it had not been well foreseen. The council, about nineteen of them, were gathered in London, thinking to meet with the Lord Protector, and to make

* Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 431.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii. part i. p. 285.

‡ Strype, vol. ii. part ii. p. 376. § “*Constitutional History*,” ed. 1855, vol. i. p. 85, note.

him amend some of his disorders." Holinshed has related in what manner the council were gathered in London: "Many of the lords, as well counsellors as others, misliking the government of the Protector, began to withdraw themselves from the court; and, resorting to London, fell to secret consultation for redress of things, but namely for the displacing of the Lord Protector. And suddenly, upon what occasion many marvelled but few knew, every lord and counsellor went through the city weaponed; and had their servants likewise weaponed, attending upon them in new liveries, to the great wondering of many. And at the last a great assembly of the said counsellors was made at the earl of Warwick's lodging, which was then at Ely-place in



Ely Palace, 1772.

Holborn, whither all the confederates in this matter came privily armed." * After this demonstration the rival powers instantly came into collision. The documents in the State-paper Office connected with this story, bearing date from the 1st to the 14th of October, are no less than forty-six in number.† In these is to be traced the authentic history of the most rapid and complete revolution that was ever effected in the government—a revolution which was accomplished with consummate boldness, and with an equal amount of craft and treachery. Before the publication of the more interesting of these papers, very little precise information of this event was "to be found in our most popular general historians, or even in the pages of Burnet, Strype, or Fuller."‡ On

* Chronicle, p. 1057.

† See the List, analysed in "Calendar of State Papers."

‡ Tytler, vol. i. p. 252. Mr. Tytler justly claims the merit of thus opening the historical truth "in the original letters of the times."

the 1st of October a proclamation appeared with the signature of Somerset, commanding all the king's subjects with all haste to repair to Hampton Court, "in most defensible array, with harness and weapons, to defend his most royal person, and his most entirely beloved uncle, the Lord Protector, against whom certain hath attempted a most dangerous conspiracy." The king and Somerset were at Hampton Court; and with them were Cranmer and Paget; Petre and Smith, the two secretaries of state; and Cecil, the private secretary of the Protector. Warwick and his associates obtained possession of the Tower of London, removed the lieutenant, and placed one of their own friends in his place. The Journal of Edward relates the counter-movement on the part of the Protector: "The next morning, being the 6th of October and Saturday, he commanded the armour to be brought down out of the armoury of Hampton Court, about five hundred harnesses, to arm both his and my men; with all the gates of the house to be rampier'd—people to be raised." From Hampton Court on that day the Protector wrote to lord Russell, the privy seal, who had the command of the army in the west of England, and required him to hasten with his power "to the defence of the king's majesty." The answer must have been a death-blow to Somerset's reliance upon any effectual support in the hour of his necessity. Lord Russell and sir William Herbert replied, in a joint letter, in which they say that, "having this day received advertisement from the lords, whereby it is given us to understand that no hurt nor displeasure is meant towards the king's majesty, and that it doth plainly appear unto us that they are his highness's most true and loving subjects, meaning no otherwise than as to their duties of allegiance may appertain; so, as in conclusion, it doth also appear to us, that this great extremity proceedeth only upon private causes between your grace and them." They therefore declare that they have levied a power to ensure the safety of the king, and the preservation of the State, "which, whilst this contention endureth, by factions between your grace and them, may be in much peril and danger." There is one sentence in this letter which shows the extreme imprudence of Somerset, in appealing from the hostility of the nobility to the support of the people: "Your grace's proclamation and billets sent abroad for the raising of the commons we mislike very much. The wicked and evil disposed persons shall stir, as well as the faithful subjects." Warwick and his confederates had endeavoured to obtain the countenance of an organised body, the aldermen and common-council of London; and had demanded from them the aid of two thousand men. Somerset had sought to move in his favour the scattered population,—slow to move except under bold leaders, and difficult to control when set in motion. A copy of one of the billets sent abroad has been preserved.* "Good people—In the name of God and king Edward, let us rise with all our power to defend him and the Lord Protector against certain lords and gentlemen, and chief masters, which would depose the Lord Protector, and so endanger the king's royal person; because we, the poor commons, being injured by the extortion of gentlemen, had our pardon this year by the mercy of the king and the goodness of the Lord Protector; for whom let us fight, for he loveth all just and true gentlemen which do no extortion, and also the poor com-

* No. 12, vol. ix. in State Paper Office.

monalty of England. God save the king and my Lord Protector, and all true lords and gentlemen, and us the poor commonalty." There was another handbill, dropped in the streets of London, inscribed on the back, "Read it, and give it forth." Thus was it sought to move the public opinion, in days when it was of small avail; and could produce little but riot and disorder, if stirred into action. But even these rude attempts to create a public voice were not without their effect. In a letter to the lords of the Council at London, dated the 9th of October, Russell and Herbert say, that in their journey towards London, "the countries were everywhere in a roar that no man wist what to do."

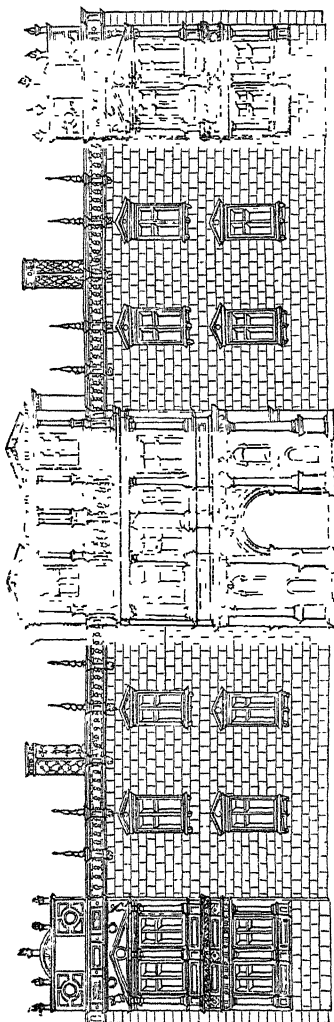
On the night of the 6th of October Edward was moved to Windsor Castle: "That night," he says in his Journal, "with all the people, at nine or ten o'clock of the night, I went to Windsor; and there was watch and ward kept every night." The proclamation of Somerset, that all loving subjects should repair to the king in most defensible array, had been neutralised by the decision of Russell and Herbert—no doubt a previous arrangement—to take part with the enemies of the Protector. In their letter of the 9th from Andover, they say, "God was the guide of our journey; for if we had not been here at this time, there had been raised five or six thousand men at the least, to have gone to Windsor; besides the uncertain rage that the commons might have taken upon this occasion. But, as God would, the gentlemen of these parts, hearing of our being here, have stayed upon our setting forwards, and divers of them have sent to us for our opinions, wherewith we have satisfied them." Somerset, the day after he removed the king to Windsor, wrote a letter of conciliation to the lords at London, in which he said, "ye shall find us agreeable to any reasonable conditions that you will require; for we do esteem the king, and the wealth and tranquillity of this realm, more than all other worldly things,—yea, than our own life." On that day, the 7th, these lords addressed a letter to those few of the council who were at Windsor, in which they say, "if the said duke will, as becometh a good subject, absent himself from his majesty, be contented to be ordered according to justice and reason, and disperse that force which is levied by him, we will gladly commune with you. . . . Otherwise, if we shall see that you mind more the maintainance of that one man's ill-doings than the execution of his majesty's laws and common order, we must make other account of you than we trust we shall have cause." The threat worked its intended effect. The king, writing no doubt under direction, on the 8th, pleads for his uncle in these words: "We pray you, good cousins and counsellors, to consider, as in times past you have every of you in his degree served us honestly at sundry times, so hath our said uncle, as you all know; and by God's grace may, by your good advices, serve us full well hereafter. Each man hath his faults; he his, and you yours; and if we shall hereafter as rigorously weigh yours as we hear that you intend with cruelty to purge his, which of you shall all be able to stand before us?" If these were Somerset's words, he must have known that they would be wasted upon Rich, the crafty chancellor; upon Southampton, expelled by himself from that office; upon Warwick, his deadly rival. They had with them St. John, Northampton, Arundel, Shrewsbury—powerful nobles, some of whom hated Somerset as much for his support of the innovations in religion, as for

his hasty temper ; but most especially for his popularity. Cranmer, Paget, and Smith were still around the falling man. They made one more effort to break his fall. They wrote, that he was indifferent about his office, provided the king and the realm were well served ; but that as he was called to the place, by their advice, and the consent of the nobles of the realm, it was not reasonable that he should be thrust out in violent sort. They add, "Marry, to put himself simply into your hands, having heard as he and we have, without knowing upon what conditions, is not reasonable. Life is sweet, my lords, and they say you seek his blood and his death." The one friend who remained to him, "faithful found among the faithless,"—Sir Thomas Smith,—exhorted them to moderation : "I trust no man seeketh his blood, who hath, as ye know, rather been too easy than cruel to others." He has a touching allusion to the death of Somerset's brother, as if he would infer that the Protector had not to bear the odium of that state-necessity—by praying to them "that this realm be not made in one year a double tragedy." All these appeals were in vain. The power was in the hands of those who could command a military force far outnumbering those who wore "the armour brought down out of the armoury at Hampton Court." They wrote two secret letters. One to the young king was calculated to flatter him into the belief that the exercise of his authority would restore the realm to perfect quiet, by the removal of Somerset from his protectorship and governorship : "These titles and special trust were committed to him during your majesty's pleasure ; and upon condition that he should do all things by advice of your council." The other letter to Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, was intended to terrify them into obedience to a secret message which was sent to them by sir Philip Hoby, who had recommended himself to the lords in London by playing false. Sir Philip Hoby was also the bearer of a public message to Somerset and the council at Windsor, that the lords meant no ill to the duke, either to his person or his goods. Sir Thomas Smith, who is the authority for this, says that, "upon this, all the aforementioned there present wept for joy, and thanked God, and prayed for the lords. Mr. Comptroller [sir William Paget] fell down on his knees, and clasped the duke about the knees, and weeping, said, 'Oh, my lord, ye see now what my lords be.' "* Upon this, Somerset consented that his guards should be removed, and his servants dismissed. The next day he was arrested, with the one honest friend of the council, sir Thomas Smith, and his secretary Cecil. It is one of the painful passages of Cranmer's life that his name is signed, with that of Paget, to the exulting communication to the lords that their victim is secured ;—"and, for because his chamber was hard adjoining to the king's bed-chamber, he is removed to the tower which is called the lieutenant's, which is the high tower next adjoining to the gate of the middle ward—a very high tower : and a strong and good watch shall be had about the same."

"On Monday, the 13th of October, the duke was brought to London as if he had been a captive, carried in triumph." Thus Hayward writes. In the "Chronicle of the Grey Friars" there is a bitter record of the fall of this champion of the Reformation : "Item, the 14th day at after-noon was

* Harleian MS. quoted in Tytler, vol. i. p. 239.

brought the traitor from Windsor, with a great company of lords and gentlemen, and many horses, with their men with weapons: and came in at St. Giles' in the Field, at his desire; for because he would not come by the place that he had begun; and pulled down divers churches and the cloister in Paul's, to build it withal."*



Somerset House. (From the original collection of drawings, by John Thorne, in the Library of Sir John Soane's Museum.)

"The place that he had begun" was Somerset House. In the proclamation issued by the council against the Protector, it was alleged, "that he was ambitious, and sought his own glory, as appeared by his building of most sumptuous and costly buildings."† The accusers of Somerset had themselves desecrated too many churches and cloisters, to object to the fallen man that he had committed the spoliation in which every courtier had been engaged from the first hour of the suppression of the abbeyes. But in the eyes of the people, especially of those who clung to the ancient faith, his destruction of the charnel-house of St. Paul's—although it was an abomination in the heart of a populous city—would be held as sacrilege; and the removal of the great cloister, covered with pictures of "the Dance of Death," would excite the indignation of many who had gazed upon "the loathly figures of our dead bony bodies," as More describes them, there painted in the time of Henry VI.; and had read "the metres or poesy of the Dance," by John Lydgate. But with us of the present day, who lament over what we regard as a wanton destruction of a curious work of art, it must not be forgotten that these pictures were opposed not only to the puritanic feelings of the Reformers, but, like many other matters belonging to the ancient Church, were not consistent with a strict morality. The verses of Lydgate were founded upon what Warton calls "a sort of spiritual

masquerade, anciently celebrated in churches;" and some of the figures, as handed down in exquisite wood-cuts, ill accorded with serious ideas, and

* Publication of the Camden Society, p. 65.

† Holinshed, p. 1058.

occasionally overleaped the bounds of decency.* Nevertheless the statesmen of the Reformation too often outraged the better feelings of our nature in their zeal against what they called superstition; and Somerset, armed with his brief authority, did not play more fantastic tricks than any other great man would have played in the same office. Putting aside these tokens of an irreverent rapacity, there is little to be found in the Articles exhibited against him which calls for the indignation of after times. The law-officers would complain that he had interfered with their delays of justice; the members of the council that he had insisted too strongly on his own opinions; the nobles and gentry that he had said "that the avarice of gentlemen gave occasion for the people to rise, and that it was better for them to die than to perish for want."† But in these Articles there is nothing objected to Somerset that could be construed into treason; and scarcely anything that could be proved as an abuse of the authority with which, wrongly or rightly, he had been invested. In those days the sovereign was his own minister; and Somerset stood in the place of the sovereign. In the very heat and turmoil of the movement against him, the Protector sends out an order to the governor of Calais to dispatch gunners to Boulogne, which was threatened by the French. The order is, indeed, countersigned by Cranmer, and three other counsellors that were with him at Hampton Court on the 4th of October; but we cannot doubt that the Protector acted upon his own responsibility in this matter, as he must have done in every case of emergency. On the 13th of October, the letters patent to Somerset, for the governorship of the king's person and the protectorship, were revoked. His almost regal authority was at an end. There can be no doubt that if the shadow of a charge of treason could have been preferred against him, Somerset's head would then have been forfeited. He remained a prisoner in the Tower till the 6th of February, 1550; when he was released upon payment of a fine of ten thousand pounds; having signed articles of submission, humiliating in the extreme. Life was sweet to the degraded man. Cecil, Smith, and others of his friends, were also released.

On the 4th of November the parliament assembled. Such outrages as had occurred in the summer were to be restrained in future by the terrors of the law; and a statute, fearful enough in its enactments, was rapidly passed. All persons assembling to the number of twelve, having an intention to offer violence to members of the privy council, or to alter the laws for religion or any other statutes, who did not disperse upon proclamation, were to be held guilty of high treason. If twelve persons should assemble for attempts to break down the fences of any inclosure; or unlawfully to have common way in any inclosed ground or park; or to destroy deer; or to pull down houses; or to abate rents,—such attempts were declared to be felony, without benefit of clergy. Forty persons assembling for such acts were held to be traitors. Any persons under the number of twelve, so assembling, were liable to fine and imprisonment. Copyholders refusing to assist in dispersing such assemblies were to forfeit a life interest in their copyholds; and farmers were to forfeit their farms to the landlords.‡ A proclamation

* Douce, "Illustrations of Shakspeare," vol i. p. 131.

† See the Articles in Burnet. No. 46 of 'Records.'

‡ 3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 5.

to disperse, under the Riot Act of the present day, is in nearly the same terms as those of the proclamation given in this statute of Edward VI. The gradual but certain operation of the system of inclosures, in promoting the employment of profitable labour in the place of the old modes of chance subsistence upon uncultivated wastes, produced a disposition to tranquillity far more certain than statutory enactments. The riots for the restoration of the old services and ceremonies of religion were equally appeased by the growing prevalence of the reformed doctrines. The government must have felt itself strong in the support of a majority of the people, when they procured an Act to be passed for all images to be removed from churches, and all missals to be delivered up.* The Statute of Vagabonds was repealed in this parliament, as wholly inoperative from its severity. A statute that made his fellow-man a slave was not likely to be enforced by the English gentleman or yeoman.† A Subsidy was granted; and a General Pardon declared for all offenders, especially those concerned in the late rebellions, with the usual exceptions. But there was one special exception, which is remarkable—an exception of those who had offended in certain heresies and erroneous opinions, namely,—“that infants ought not to be baptised, and if they be baptised they ought to be re-baptised when they come to lawful age: that it is not lawful for a Christian man to bear office or rule in the commonwealth: that no man’s law ought to be obeyed: that it is not lawful for a Christian man to take an oath before any judge: that Christ took no bodily substance of our blessed Lady: that sinners after baptism cannot be restored by repentance: that all things be, or ought to be, common and nothing several.”‡ These were the alleged doctrines of the Anabaptists, whose sect had been so relentlessly persecuted in 1535. At the time of this Act of General Pardon, there were several such persons in prison. The repeal of the statutes against heretical opinions was not held to exempt them. The most famous instance of the renewed severity against the holders of these opinions is that of Joan Bocher. Her fate is thus recorded in king Edward’s Journal: “May 2. Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt, for holding that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary; being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion. And the 30th of April, the bishop of London and the bishop of Ely were to persuade her; but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death.” The statement of Fox, with reference to the conduct of the young king and Cranmer in determining the fate of this resolved woman, has found a place in almost every history. It is thus presented to us by one of the most unprejudiced of historians: “The execution was delayed for a year by the compassionate scruples of Edward, who refused to sign it [the warrant]. It must be owned with regret that his conscientious hesitation was borne down by the authority and importunity of Cranmer; though the reasons of that prelate rather silenced than satisfied the boy, who, as he set his hand to the warrant, said, with tears in his eyes, to the archbishop, ‘If I do wrong, since it was in submission to your authority, you must answer for it to God.’”§ Many statements that the later historians have been accustomed to receive from

* 3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 10.

† See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 469.

‡ 3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 24.

§ Mackintosh, “History of England,” vol. ii. p. 273.

the elder, without the means of disproof—and many which future writers will continue to receive and transmit—rest upon evidence as unsatisfactory as this “stain upon Cranmer’s memory, which nothing but his own death could have lightened.” * We owe to the sagacity as well as the diligence of antiquarian inquirers of our own time that many apocryphal statements have been exploded, and many historic doubts cleared up. If the allegation against Cranmer that he pressed the execution of the sentence against Joan Bocher be not wholly removed by the following statement, it is perfectly clear that the touching contrast between the king and the archbishop must no longer be related: “Amongst the minutes of the business transacted by the council on the 27th of April, 1550, is the following: ‘A warrant to the lord chauncellor to make out a writt to the shireff of London for the execucon of Johan of Kent, condemned to be burned for certein detestable opinions of heresie.’ It appears from these words, that, in conformity with the ordinary legal practice of the period, Joan Bocher was executed upon a writ *de hæretico comburendo*, addressed to the sheriff of London, and issued out of chancery, upon the authority of a warrant signed, not by the king, but by the council. It would have been contrary to constitutional custom for the king to have signed any such document; it is quite clear, from the entry quoted, that, in point of fact, he did not sign it; and the narrative which the worthy martyrologist was misled into inserting, and Cranmer’s difficulty to cause the king to ‘put to his hand,’ and the tears, by which subsequent writers have declared that his submission to the stern pleading of his spiritual father were accompanied, all vanish. That no doubt may remain upon the subject I will add,—I. That it was not customary for the king to attend meetings of the council. II. That whenever the council desired that the king should be consulted or communicated with, an entry was made upon the council-book similar to the following, which occurs on the same day as the preceding: ‘It is agreed by the whole counsaill, that the king’s majestie should be moved for the restitution of the duke of Somersett unto all his goods, his debts, and his leases yet ungiven.’” The third point in the defence of Cranmer as to this special charge, is that, on the 27th of April, when the warrant was issued, the archbishop was not present at the council, which was attended by the lord chancellor, and twelve other members.† But to believe that either Cranmer, or Ridley, or Latimer were opposed to the execution of Joan Bocher, the anabaptist, or George van Paris, the Arian (who was burnt at the same period), is to imagine that they had reached that enlargement of opinion which belongs to a different state of society. Mr. Hallam has truly said, “Tolerance in religion, it is well known, so unanimously admitted (at least verbally) even by theologians in the present century, was seldom considered as practicable, much less as a matter of right, during the period of the Reformation.”‡ But we must bear in mind that intolerance was the very opposite of indifference; and that when we look back upon the errors and crimes, either of catholic or protestant, we must make some allowance for an earnestness that saw only one way to truth.

* Hallam, “Constitutional Hist.” vol. i. c. 2.

† This interesting statement is given by Mr. Bruce, in his Preface to an edition of Roger Hutchinson’s Works, 1842.

‡ “Constitutional Hist.” vol. i. p. 95.

There can be nothing more signally illustrative of the difficulties which the earlier Reformers had to contend with, when they departed from the canons and traditions of an infallible Church, than the questions attempted by them to be regulated and settled which yet remain matters of difference amongst zealous and learned Christians. It is no part of our duty to enter upon an examination of these controversial points. But in the sixteenth century, as now, they furnished occasion for heats and animosities which the pious and peaceable would desire to have separated from the religion of love. The forty-two Articles of Belief set forth in the reign of Edward VI., were conceived in a spirit of compromise, which was well calculated to establish a Protestant Church as opposed to a Roman Catholic, by bringing men of opposite opinions upon metaphysical points within its fold. But when the broad distinctions between the old and the new doctrines came to be of less practical importance than the diversity of opinions between Protestants themselves, the Articles, however revised and explained, became stumbling-blocks to the conscientious; and went on, from age to age, interrupting that unity of the Anglican Church for which good men ought to pray. Again, the material forms and symbols of the Church were lasting points of fierce dispute. Hooper, one of the more strict Reformers, who had lived much abroad, and who testified to the strength of his general convictions by perishing at the stake in the reign of Mary, very early raised a schism by refusing to be consecrated in the usual episcopal robe; which strictness went forward in a subsequent period, into a fierce contest about the use of the surplice. Questions more affecting the civil interests of society were raised by the statute for appointing commissioners to compile a new body of ecclesiastical laws; the ancient canon law "having not of long time been put in ure [use], nor exercised by the reason of the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome."* A book was compiled by Cranmer, which never became law, but is of authority as pointing to the principles of the first Reformers. The Law of Divorce is one of the most important of the subjects of which this code treats. The proposed law did not regard marriage as indissoluble. Divorce for adultery might be pronounced by the ecclesiastical courts, with liberty to marry again by the party sinned against and not sinning. Divorce was also held lawful in cases of mortal enmities, the desertion of a husband, his lasting cruelty, or his prolonged absence. In our own day it is one of the laudable objects of legislation to carry out some of the principles which were thus promulgated, if the change can be accomplished without making the dissolution of marriage a cloak for licentiousness, or weakening the force of parental duties by making the relations of husband and wife too easy of relaxation. The system of a special act of parliament, in individual cases, to be preceded by an action at law, is the barbarous expedient of a century and a half after the Reformation, which long remained a crying disgrace amongst us.

Bonner, the bishop of London, was deprived of his see at the time when Somerset and the council became at mortal variance. He was committed to the Marshalsea, where he was a prisoner during the remainder of Edward's reign. Ridley was subsequently appointed to the bishopric. Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, who had been a prisoner for some time in the Fleet,

was released in 1549, and ordered to preach before the king at Paul's Cross. He preached so boldly and offensively that he was committed to the Tower. In 1550 he was examined by the council, and we find Somerset amongst those who were to probe his opinions. The history of these discussions, in which Gardiner conducted himself with his usual spirit and ability, will be found in the ecclesiastical historians.* In the end, he was deprived of his bishopric, and was confined in the Tower till the accession of queen Mary. The order of the council for his final imprisonment, in 1551, is not of a magnanimous complexion. It is alleged that he had called his judges "heretics and sacramentarians;" and it was therefore resolved that he should be removed to a meaner lodging in the Tower; that he should send to no man, and hear from no man; that his books and papers be taken from him; "and that from henceforth he have neither pen, ink, nor paper to write his detestable purposes." It would have been more honourable to the free spirit of Protestantism if Gardiner had been allowed to continue his paper war with Cranmer, without this cowardly suppression of his opinions. He was secluded for four years from all intercourse with the outward world, or the slightest knowledge of passing affairs. Heath, the bishop of Worcester, and Day, the bishop of Chichester, had objected to the removal of altars; and they were committed to prison and deprived. Tonstall, the bishop of Durham, was sent to the Tower upon a charge of misprision of treason. There is some slight justification for these courses. The severities of the government against religious opponents present this difference between the proceedings of the previous and of the subsequent reign—they stopped short of bloodshed. No Roman Catholic was put to death in the time of Edward VI. The offences of the deprived bishops were political offences; and under a more despotic system the penalties of treason would assuredly have fallen upon them. The position of domestic affairs was one of extreme danger and difficulty; and in no point was it more dangerous than in the firm determination of the king's elder sister not to conform to the changes of religion. The inflexible character of Mary presented an embarrassment that could not be grappled with by any ordinary means. An entry in Edward's Journal in 1551, shows how painful and delicate was the position of the youthful king: "March 18th. The lady Mary, my sister, came to me at Westminster, where, after salutations, she was called, with my council, into a chamber; where was declared how long I had suffered her mass, in hope of her reconciliation, and how, now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendments I could not bear it. She answered, that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings. It was said, I constrained not her faith; but willed her not as a king to rule, but as a subject to obey; and that her example might breed too much inconvenience." The entry in the Journal of the next day, shows how Mary was fortified in the bold avowal of her opinions: "The emperor's ambassador came with a short message from his master, of war, if I would not suffer his cousin, the princess, to use her mass." An English ambassador was sent to the emperor to remonstrate against his interference; but Mary relaxed nothing of her determination. Her comptroller, and other officers of her

* See particularly Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer," vol. i. c. 19.

household, in August, 1551, were sent to her residence, Copt Hall, in Essex, to forbid her servants hearing mass. They returned, bringing a most characteristic letter from the princess to the king, of which one paragraph will show the tone: "And now I beseech your highness to give me leave to write what I think touching your majesty's letters. In deed they be signed with your own hand; and nevertheless in my opinion not your majesty's in effect; because it is well known (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your highness) that although, our Lord be praised, your majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than others of your years, yet it is not possible that your highness can at these years be a judge in matters of religion. And, therefore, I take it that the matter in your letter proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves; by whose doings (your majesty not offended) I intend not to rule my conscience." * Four days after this letter had been received by the king, the lord chancellor and two others of the council were sent to Mary; and a full report of their mission is extant. The princess did not abate a jot of her resolution, or of her contempt for the ministers of her brother. She would obey all the king's commandments, her conscience saved; "but rather than she will agree to use any other service than was used at the death of the late king, her father, she would lay her head on a block and suffer death." † There was a bitter sarcasm in her deportment, mixed with this solemn stedfastness. As the members of the council were leaving her house, she called out of a window, desiring that they would send back her comptroller. "For," said she, "since his departing, I take the accounts myself of my expenses, and learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat; and I wis my father and my mother never brought me up with baking and brewing."

On the 31st of March, 1550, there is this entry in king Edward's Journal, "My lord Somerset was delivered of his bonds, and came to court." On the 10th of April, Somerset was restored to a place in the council. On the 3rd of June, lord Lisle, the son of Warwick, was married at Shene to Ann, the daughter of Somerset; and the king was present at the bridal. And yet, within a few weeks of this alliance, we find that a jealousy of Somerset's influence in public affairs is beginning to manifest itself. In a letter from Richard Whalley to Cecil, dated 26th June, 1550, ‡ the writer details a conversation with "my lord of Warwick," in which Warwick "showed most plainly the inward grief of his heart, with not a few tears," at Somerset's proceedings in attempting to procure the release of the bishop of Winchester and lord Arundel; and expressed his suspicion that he desired the same authority as when he was Protector. "And further he said, alas! Mr. Whalley, what meaneth my lord in this wise to discredit himself, and why will he not see his own decay therein? Thinks he to rule and direct the whole council as he will, considering how his late governance is yet disliked? neither is he in that credit and best opinion with the king's majesty, as he believeth, and is by some fondly persuaded." During the early part of June,

* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 177.

† *Ibid.*, p. 182.

‡ Mr. Tytler gives this letter under the date of 1551. From the "Calendar of State Papers" we find that it is bound up in vol. x. of Edward's reign, in its chronological order, amongst papers ranging from February 21 to October 26, 1550. The variation is material.

1550, the bishop of Winchester had been repeatedly examined by the council, Somerset being always present; and on the 14th we have this entry in Edward's Journal: "The duke of Somerset, with five others of the council, went to the bishop of Winchester; to whom he made this answer: 'I having deliberately seen the Book of Common Prayer, although I would not have made it so myself, yet I find such things in it as satisfieth my conscience, and therefore I will both execute it myself, and also see other, my parishioners, to do it.'" Upon this submission of Gardiner we may well believe that Somerset, inclined as he was to moderate proceedings, might attempt to procure his release. During 1550 Somerset appears to have been re-establishing his power. In December he has a hundred guards assigned him, although Warwick and other nobles have only fifty. But in February, 1551, a storm is gathering, as we learn from this brief entry in Edward's Journal: "Mr. Whalley was examined, for persuading divers nobles of the realm to make the duke of Somerset Protector at the next parliament, and stood to the denial, the earl of Rutland affirming it manifestly." The jealousies of the retainers of Somerset and Warwick began to manifest themselves in open conflicts; and some of Somerset's servants were sent to the Tower. These symptoms of disquiet appear to have subsided for six months; and Somerset was to be found in council and about the person of the king. On the 11th of October, the marquis of Dorset was created duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Warwick was created duke of Northumberland. On the 16th of October, Somerset, having that day taken his seat at the council, was arrested and sent to the Tower, with his duchess, and many of his friends. The charges against him were that, on the 20th of April, he conspired to depose the king, to seize the government, and to imprison the earl of Warwick; and the indictment also alleges a second plot of a similar nature, to be executed on the 20th of May. The long interval between the concoction of this plot and its discovery would alone induce a suspicion that the evidence, as it was called, was manufactured by him who had a decided interest in removing Somerset, to carry forward the bold conceptions of his own ambition. On the 1st of December Somerset was brought to trial before the lord-steward and twenty-seven peers, on a charge of high treason, by conspiring to seize the king; and of felony, under the Act of the preceding session against unlawful assemblies, in purposing, with others, to imprison the earl of Warwick, a privy councillor. He was acquitted of the treason, and found guilty of the felony. In the king's Journal many details of the progress of the discovery of this alleged plot are given, but they furnish little help to the elucidation of a mysterious struggle between two political rivals, which, in happier times, would have ended in a change of ministry. This Journal, however, furnishes a proof of the popular love for Somerset. Being acquitted of treason he went out of Westminster Hall, "without the axe of the Tower. The people, not knowing the matter, shouted half-a-dozen of times so loud, that from the hall-door it was heard at Charing Cross plainly, and rumours went that he was quit of all." That Christmas Somerset spent drearily in the Tower; whilst his nephew was diverted from the thoughts of the prisoner by every courtly amusement in his palace of Greenwich—tilts, tournaments, fights at barriers, masques, banquets. On the 22nd of January there is this business-like entry in the royal day-book: "The duke of

Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower-hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." The details of this execution have been preserved by an eye-witness. The duke addressed the assembly in a short speech; and was preparing for death, when "the people espy sir Anthony Brown upon a little nag, riding towards the scaffold, and therewith they burst out crying in a voice, 'Pardon, pardon, pardon,' hurling up their caps and cloaks with these words, saying, 'God save the king, God save the king.' The good duke all this while stayed, and with his cap in his hand waited the people to come together, saying these words to their words of pardon, 'There is no such thing, good people, there is no such thing, it is the ordinance of God thus for to die, wherewith we must be content; and I pray you now let us pray together for the king's majesty, to whose grace I have been always a faithful, true, and most loving subject, desirous always of his most prosperous success in all his affairs; and ever glad of the furtherance and helping forwards of the commonwealth of this realm.' At which words the people answered 'Yea, yea, yea,' and some said with a loud voice, 'that is found now too true.' 'To whose grace I beseech God to send and grant to reign most prosperously to the pleasure of God.' " * Sir Ralph Vane, sir Thomas Arundel, sir Miles Partridge, and sir Michael Stanhope, were subsequently tried and executed, on a charge of having instigated the duke of Somerset to treason and felony.

The biographer of Cranmer says, "the violent death of Somerset exceedingly grieved the good archbishop." † In the great work of the Reformation it is not easy to determine the particular merit of the labourers; but we incline to believe that Somerset was sincere and consistent in his attempts to establish the new doctrines upon a broad foundation of charitable principle. Nor was he altogether so worldly-minded as his adversaries have represented. Hearne, in the narrow spirit of a past generation of antiquaries, says that the abbey of Glastonbury was granted to Somerset on the 4th of June, 1550, by king Edward; but he enjoyed it only for a year, seven months, and twenty-one days—"so little did this and his other sacrileges thrive with him." The use which the fallen Protector made of Glastonbury, at a time when he was deprived of his office and heavily fined, might have called for a more charitable mention. England was then, as it has been in many later periods, the home of foreigners fleeing from oppression, religious or political. It was the merit of the Protector's government to receive these strangers. He gave encouragement, before his first removal from power, to the famous Polish nobleman, John a Lasco, who had become a preacher of the reformed religion, at Embden; and whose congregation, living in great insecurity on account of their opinions, desired to have a church of some dissolved monastery granted to them in England, where they might transplant themselves, exercising their faith and pursuing their skilful industry. The church of Austin Friars, in London, was eventually granted to them; and the circumstance is recorded in Edward's Journal, of 1550: "June 29. It was appointed that the Germans should have the Austin Friars for their church, to have their service in, for avoiding of all sects of Anabaptists, and such like." Somerset carried his encouragement of such settlers still further. A congregation of French

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 216.

† Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer," i. 340.

and Walloons, under the ministry of a learned reformer, Valerandus Pollanus, in 1550, petitioned the council of England, "that they might be permitted to form themselves into a church for the free exercise of religion, and to follow peaceably their calling of weaving." Somerset immediately established this colony in Glastonbury Abbey. He entered into formal conditions to provide them houses for their occupation, and an allotment of pasture land for each family; and that until the allotments were made they should enjoy the park in common. The settlers came. The duke lent them money to buy wool; and for some time they went on prosperously. But when



Dutch Church, Austin Friars.

Somerset fell, their affairs became disordered. In December, while the duke was under sentence of death, the receiver of his revenues was ordered by the council to pay 340*l.* to these refugees, for provision of wool.* But they had lost their great patron, and struggled with difficulties for a year or two to establish their manufacture. When Mary came to the crown all

* "Calendar of State Papers," p. 37.

strangers of their opinions were driven from the realm. The poor congregation of Glastonbury removed to Frankfurt; and they, in their turn, gave succour to Englishmen who fled for conscience-sake.

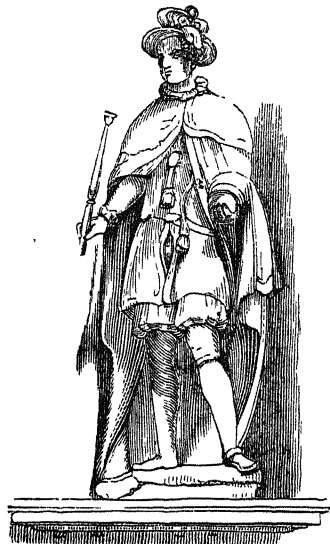
The ill-success of the English policy in Scotland, and the defenceless state of Boulogne, in 1549, were amongst the evils that were attributed to the rule of Somerset. His successors in power wisely concluded a peace with France, though under humiliating conditions. By the treaty of March, 1550, it was agreed that Boulogne should be restored to France, upon the payment of one-fifth of the sum which Francis I. had agreed to pay on the expiration of eight years. The demand arising out of the treaty of marriage between Edward and Mary of Scotland was abandoned. The pension which Henry VIII. had accepted for the surrender of his claim to the crown of France was virtually set aside. This ridiculous pretension entered no longer into the diplomacy or the wars of the English government, though an empty title continued, for two centuries and a half longer, to be a practical satire upon a claim which the nation had long repudiated with other absurdities of the days of feudality. By this treaty the pretensions of England as regarded Scotland and France, and of France and Scotland as regarded England, were suspended. The reservation was a practical abandonment of causes of hostility, which the growth of a higher power than the personal ambition of kings would speedily over-ride.

The duke of Northumberland, though invested with no special power as that of protector or governor of the king, was now the directing authority of the realm. He had removed his great rival. He had summoned a parliament from which he expected the accustomed subserviency. The Lords passed a more stringent law of treason than that of Edward III. The Commons modified many of its clauses; and, from a feeling that trials for treason had been conducted with the most flagrant injustice, it was enacted that no person should be arraigned or convicted of treasonable offences, except by the testimony of two witnesses, to be produced at the time of his arraignment. This law, like many others which interfered with the powers of the crown, was often disregarded in evil times, when, as in more barbarous periods, to be accused of treason, and to be condemned to its fearful penalties, were almost convertible terms. But the law of Edward VI. shows that a spirit of justice was growing up in the minds of the representatives of the people. The parliament of 1552 was, in other respects, not a mere register of the decrees of the executive; and it was speedily dissolved. Meanwhile, Northumberland had obtained the most lavish grants of estates from the crown, and was proceeding in a career of high-handed despotism. Commissions were issued for the seizure of all the remaining plate and ornaments of the churches, with the exception of such chalices as were necessary for the administration of the Sacrament. Tonstall, bishop of Durham, had been deprived of his see, which was a great object with Northumberland, for he proposed and carried a plan to divide the bishopric into two sees, with a moderate income for each bishop, and its great revenues to be vested in the king—in other words, in himself. A new parliament was called in 1553, and especial care was taken that the sheriffs should attend, in their returns, to the nominations of the crown, and the recommendations of the privy counsellors. In the beginning of the year the king became seriously ill; and

when the parliament met on the 1st of March, the two houses were assembled at Whitehall, his weakness preventing him opening the session except in his own palace. The policy of Northumberland now assumed a bolder shape. The king partially recovered in May; and that period was chosen to accomplish three marriages, by which the power of the ambitious duke was not only consolidated, but one of which was to be associated with a project so daring as to look like insanity. Northumberland's fourth son, lord Guilford Dudley, was married to the lady Jane Grey; the lady Catherine Grey was betrothed to lord Herbert, the son of the earl of Pembroke, who was his devoted adherent; and his daughter, Catherine Dudley, was united to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon. The marriage of lord Guilford Dudley to the lady Jane was very soon followed by the most startling consequences. By the Will of Henry VIII. the crown was to devolve—1, on his son Edward; 2, on his own heir (if any) by Catherine Parr, or other queen; 3, on his daughter Mary; 4, on his daughter Elizabeth; 5, on the heirs of the lady Frances, his niece; 6, on those of her sister, the lady Eleanor. By this Will the descendants of his sister, Margaret, the queen of Scotland, were passed over. On the 11th of June, the lord chief justice Montague, with other law officers, was commanded to attend upon the king at Greenwich. Edward, in presence of some members of the council, then declared to them that his sickness had led him to think seriously of the state of the realm; that he had prepared notes of an intended new settlement of the crown; and that he desired they should be reduced into letters-patent. The notes are extant in Edward's handwriting. They were in effect to set aside the devise of Henry to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and to give the crown to the heirs of the lady Frances, who was the living duchess of Suffolk, but who was herself passed over. The lady Jane Grey was the eldest of her three daughters. She had no male heir. The judge hesitated; remonstrated with the sick boy; and pointed out that the succession according to Henry's Will was confirmed by an act of parliament. His representations were made in vain. The next day Montague went to the council, and declared that he and his colleagues could not assist in a measure which would be treasonable. Northumberland then came in, and terrified the chief justice by the most violent denunciations. On the 14th Montague and the other lawyers were again summoned to Greenwich; and there Edward received them "with sharp words and angry countenance." Montague subsequently related that being "a weak old man and without comfort," he consented, Edward promising that a parliament should be called to ratify the letters-patent. Fifteen lords of the council, nine judges, and other officers, then signed a paper agreeing to maintain the succession as contained in the king's notes, delivered to the judges. King Edward died on the 6th of July, twenty-two days after he had thus solemnly excluded his sisters from the throne. The letters-patent, dated the 21st of June, set forth the following reasons for this exclusion:—That they were illegitimate, in consequence of the divorces of their mothers; that they were only of half-blood to king Edward, and therefore were by ancient laws not inheritable, although they had been legitimate; and that they might marry strangers out of the realm, and thus endanger the commonwealth.

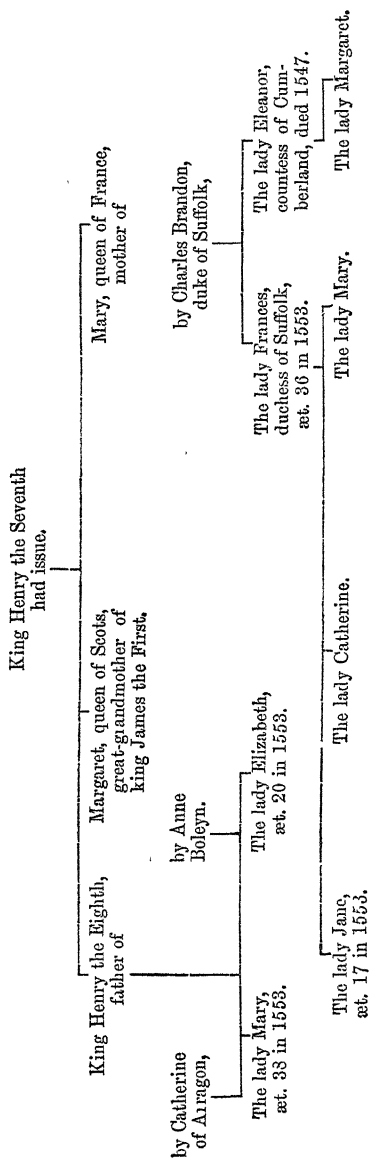
In looking at the imperfectly developed character of Edward VI., as

exhibited in his public actions and his private Journal, we can scarcely fail to be impressed with its more than youthful proportion of the coldness and pertinacity of his race. The stoical indifference with which he records the unhappy deaths of his two uncles is not more remarkable than the egoism with which he discards his sisters from the succession. They are "unto us but of the half-blood." The daughters of the lady Frances are "very nigh of our whole blood, of the part of our father's side." His enthusiastic adherence to the doctrines and usages of the Reformed Church had made him, to a certain extent, as intolerant as education and long habit had rendered his sister Mary. He was no doubt worked upon to this unjust resolve—unjust, even upon his own principles, in the corresponding exclusion of his sister Elizabeth—by the influence of Northumberland, who appears to have possessed an extraordinary control over his actions. But, under the guidance of his own sense of religious duty, Edward manifested a desire to repair some of the injustice attendant upon the destruction of the ancient church. Ridley, in a sermon before him, exhorted the rich to be merciful to the poor, and by charitable works to comfort and relieve them. The noble institutions of St. Thomas's Hospital, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and of Christ's Hospital, sprung out of the practical effect of these words upon the mind of the young king. When the chantries were swept away, the intention to apply their revenues to purposes of education was set aside. But from 1551 to 1553 Edward founded twelve grammar-schools; of which those of Birmingham, Shrewsbury, Macclesfield, Bedford, are especial examples of the lasting good of such endowments. His dying prayer is a proof of his earnest and abiding love for the faith which had made such rapid progress during his brief reign: "O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion."



Statue of Edward VI at Christ's Hospital

TABLE SHOWING THE HEIRS FEMALE IN REMAINDER TO THE CROWN, NAMED IN THE WILL OF HENRY VIII.
AND THE DEVISE OF EDWARD VI.*



* * * Queen Elizabeth, when she died in 1603, was the survivor of all these ladies.

The descendants of Margaret, queen of Scots, who were passed over by Henry and Edward, were:—Her granddaughter, Mary, queen of Scotland, affianced to the Dauphin of France, she being in 1553 eleven years old; Margaret's daughter, the countess of Lennox; and Henry Darnley, the son of the countess.

* We have taken the liberty of extracting this Table from the interesting documents given by Mr. Nichols in the "Chronicle of Queen Jane."



Lady Jane Grey.

CHAPTER IV.

The Lady Jane proclaimed Queen—Northumberland leaves London—Queen Mary proclaimed in London—Northumberland and others tried—Northumberland's execution and apostasy—Lady Jane Grey in the Tower—Coronation of Mary—Her person and qualities—Parliament—Sweeping changes in religion—Proposed marriage with Philip—Popular hatred of the marriage—Ambassadors arrive to arrange a treaty—Insurrection of Wyatt—Conduct of the Queen—Wyat's march to London—The insurrection defeated.

A CONTEMPORARY chronicler of the events that filled the anxious days from the 7th to the 17th of July, 1553, heads his brief account, *JANA REGINA*.* Edward died on the evening of Thursday, the 6th. It had been intended to keep the event strictly secret, till the persons of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth had been secured. Nevertheless, the Council could not shut themselves up within the palace of Greenwich, without some indirect

* "Chronicle of the Grey Friars," p. 78.

demonstration of the real circumstances. The French ambassador, Noailles, wrote to his government on the 8th, that on the day following the death of the king, being Friday, the marquis of Northampton and others took possession of the Tower, at two o'clock in the morning. The princess Mary was at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire; and there were not wanting friends to apprise her of the position of affairs, and of her consequent danger. She hastily took horse for her manor of Kenninghall, from which place she addressed a letter to the Council, dated the 9th, in which she expresses her surprise that information of her brother's death, of which she has received sure advertisement, was not communicated to her; and calls upon them, on their allegiance, immediately to proclaim her right and title to the crown. The Council on the 8th had sent for the lord mayor and six aldermen and other citizens of London, and had read to them the letters-patent, and sworn them to abide by the same. Having answered the letter of Mary, declaring that Jane was invested with the true title to the crown, and recommending to the princess to be "quiet and obedient," the Council caused queen Jane to be proclaimed on the 10th. Some historians have recorded the circumstances of an interview between Northumberland, Suffolk, and their daughter; her surprise at their unusual homage; her tears; and her scruples to accept the crown. This is the dramatic decoration of a few bare facts. The most charming of all usurpers, was, in all likelihood, an unwilling instrument for the ambition of a few; and the only fact that we certainly know at this point of her story is, that she came by water to the Tower on the day when she was proclaimed. The people in anxious silence saw her pass. It was in every mouth that the young king had been poisoned. "He was poisoned, as everybody says."* Northumberland was odious to the people. The ragged bear is glad of the king's death, they said. Gilbert Pot, a vintner's drawer, had his ears cut off in the pillory, "for words speaking at time of proclamation of lady Jane."† Cecil, the secretary of state, and other crafty counsellors, saw the signs of the time; and as we learn from Cecil's own confession of his double dealing, left Northumberland, and his few daring friends, to perform the more obnoxious acts of these nine days. "I eschewed," says Cecil, "the writing of the queen's highness bastard, and therefore the duke wrote the letter himself which was sent abroad in the realm."‡ This letter, in the writing of Northumberland, is in existence; and is signed "Jane the queene."§

On the 12th of July the Council, who surrounded the lady Jane in the Tower, received intelligence that Mary had been joined at Kenninghall by the earl of Bath, and other leading men; and that the earl of Sussex and his son were marching to her aid. It was determined, upon the first receipt of this intelligence, that the duke of Suffolk should set forward, "to fetch her up to London." The forebodings of the lady Jane led to another determination. She, "taking the matter heavily, with weeping tears made request to the whole Council that her father might tarry at home in her company; whereupon the Council persuaded with the duke of Northumberland to take that voyage upon him."|| There is a spirited narrative of the proceedings of this

* Mostyn's Diary, p. 35. Also "Grey Friars' Chronicle."

† Holinshed.

‡ Landsdowne MS., quoted in Tytler, ii. p. 193.

§ "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," Camden Society, p. 103.

|| Stow.

interesting time, in a "Chronicle of Queen Jane," written by a resident in the Tower of London, which was formerly in the possession of Stow, and of which he made liberal use. Holinshed followed Stow, as "from the report of an eye-witness."* The setting forth of the duke is minutely described. He made a strong appeal to the fidelity of the Council in these words:—

"'Now upon the only trust and faithfulness of your honours, whereof we think ourselves most assured, we do hazard and jeopard our lives; which trust and promise if ye shall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion, yet shall not God count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquit you of the sacred and holy oath of allegiance made freely by you to this virtuous lady, the queen's highness, who by your and our enticement is rather of force placed therein than by her own seeking and request. Consider also that God's cause, which is the preferment of His word, and the fear of papist's re-entrance, hath been as ye have herebefore always said, the original ground whereupon ye even at the first motion granted your good wills and consents thereunto, as by your handwriting evidently appeareth. And think not the contrary, but if ye mean deceit, though not forthwith yet hereafter God will revenge the same. I can say no more; but in this troublesome time wish you to use constant hearts, abandoning all malice, envy, and private affections.' Therewith-all the first course for the lords came up. Then the duke did knit up his talk with these words: 'I have not spoken to you on this sort upon any distrust I have of your truth, of the which always I have ever hitherto conceived a trusty confidence; but I have put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance soever might grow amongst you in my absence; and this I pray you, wish me no worse good-speed in this journey than ye would have to yourselves.' 'My lord (saith one of them) if ye mistrust any of us in this matter, your grace is far deceived; for which of us can wipe his hands clean thereof? And if we should shrink from you as one that were culpable, which of us can excuse himself as guiltless? Therefore herein your doubt is too far cast.' 'I pray God it be so (quoth the duke); let us go to dinner. And so they sate down.'"

Northumberland received from queen Jane the commission for the lieutenantship of the army, "sealed." The earl of Arundel "prayed God be with his grace; saying, he was very sorry it was not his chance to go with him and bear him company, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood, even at his foot." The next morning Northumberland departed, with six hundred men. "And as they went through Shoreditch, sayeth the duke to one that rid by him, the people press to see us, but not one sayeth God speed us." He was to have received succour at Northampton, but the promised aid of men and munition never arrived. Meanwhile the cause of Mary was prospering in every quarter. At Yarmouth the crews of six ships that had been sent to intercept her expected flight to the continent, declared that their captains should go to the bottom of the sea unless they would serve queen Mary. "After once the submission of the ships was known in the Tower, each man then begun to pluck in his horns; and, over that, word of a great mischief was brought to the Tower—the noblemen's tenants refused to serve their lords against queen Mary." Suspicion began to prevail amongst

* Harl. MS., reprinted by the Camden Society, edited by J. G. Nichols.

the few who remained faithful to the authority they had most imprudently set up. On the 16th, at seven o'clock in the evening, "the gates of the Tower upon a sudden were shut, and the keys carried up to the queen Jane." Her supposed friends were fast deserting her. Cecil was practising with the Lord Privy Seal to cause Windsor Castle to serve the queen Mary. He was opening himself to the lord Arundel. He purposed to have stolen down to the queen's highness. He was ready with what he calls "the pardonable lie." * Arundel, who prayed God to speed Northumberland, desired Cecil and others to remove out of the Tower, for frank speech to be had in council, saying that he liked not the air; and thereupon they went to Baynard's Castle. So the lady Jane was left almost alone with her mock-royalty; and the keys of the Tower-gates were carried to her—a precaution against open force, but none against hidden treachery. Ridley was preaching in her favour at Paul's Cross on that day; but Arundel and Cecil were more effectually conspiring against her at Baynard's Castle.

Framlingham is about twenty miles from Kenninghall, from which house Mary wrote to the Council on the 9th. She determined to move to a place of strength, and was soon in comparative safety within the strong walls and deep moats of Framlingham. This castle of the Howards' had been forfeited to the crown upon the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, who, at this time, was still a prisoner in the Tower. Here Mary remained till the last day of July. She entered the gates of Framlingham after a hurried ride of secrecy and fear. She went forth, surrounded with armed thousands, in the state of a queen. The termination of the march of Northumberland to the eastern counties is a pitiable exhibition of the unhonoured fall of inordinate ambition. He had retreated to Cambridge with his small army. Letters of discomfort had reached him. On the 19th, at night, he heard that Queen Mary had been proclaimed at London. "The next morning he called for a herald and proclaimed her himself." A letter of the period describes the proclamation of Mary in London:—

"Great was the triumph here at London; for my part I never saw the like, and by the report of others the like was never seen. The number of caps that were thrown up at the proclamation were not to be told. The earl of Pembroke threw away his cap full of angelletes. I saw myself money was thrown out at windows for joy. The bonfires were without number, and what with shouting and crying of the people, and ringing of the bells, there could no one hear almost what another said, besides banquettings and singing in the street for joy. There was present at the proclamation the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Arundel, my lord warden, my lord mayor, sir John Mason, sir John Cheeke, and divers others; and after the proclamation made in Cheapside, they all went to Paul's to even-song. The duke of Suffolk being at the Tower, at the making of the proclamation, and, as some say, did not know of it, but so soon as he heard of it, he came himself out of the Tower, and commanded his men to leave their weapons behind them, saying that he himself was but one man, and himself proclaimed my lady Mary's grace queen on the Tower-hill, and so came into London, leaving the lieutenant in the Tower."

* See "A Brief Note of my Submission," the paper which he sent to Queen Mary; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 192.

Where was the lady Jane? Did she go with her father to some place of refuge? Did she return to her old retirement at Sion? Or did she remain within those walls to gaze upon ghastly sights, and shadow out her own fate? For a few weeks history drops her as a forgotten thing; and then takes her up again, "looking through the window" to see Northumberland going to the church within the Tower to perform one more act of dissimulation. His fate was very speedily sealed. The mayor of Cambridge arrested him after the proclamation, but upon his remonstrance let him go free. He stayed at Cambridge one night. Though his son Warwick was "booted," they did not carry out their purpose to ride in the morning.

"Then came the earl of Arundel, who had been with the queen, to the duke into his chamber; and when the duke knew thereof he came out to meet him; and as soon as ever he saw the earl of Arundel, he fell down on his knees and desired him to be good to him, for the love of God. 'And consider (saith he), I have done nothing but by the consent of you and all the whole council.' 'My lord (quoth he), I am sent hither by the queen's majesty, and in her name I do arrest you.' 'And I obey it my lord (quoth he), and I beseech you my lord of Arundel (quoth the duke), use mercy towards me, knowing the case as it is.' 'My lord (quoth the earl), ye should have sought for mercy sooner; I must do according to my commandment.' And therewith he committed the charge of him to divers of the guard and gentlemen that stood by."

Queen Mary arrived triumphantly in London, at the head of a great band of friends, on the 3rd of August. Her sister Elizabeth had joined her on her progress, having most wisely determined, from the first, to make common cause against those who sought to set aside their inheritance under the Act of Succession. The queen went to the Tower, where the aged duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Winchester, and the dowager-duchess of Somerset welcomed her to the place of their captivity. Mary raised them from their knees, with the words "These are all my own prisoners;" and they were immediately set free. The prison had soon many new tenants. The duke of Northumberland and his son the earl of Warwick, the earl of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer were tried and convicted of high-treason on the 18th and 19th of August. On the 22nd, Northumberland, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer were executed. An extraordinary scene took place on the 21st, which is thus related by the Resident in the Tower: "Note, on Monday the xxist of August, it was appointed the duke with others should have suffered, and all the guard were at the Tower; but howsoever it chanced he did not; but he desired to hear mass and to receive the sacrament according to the old accustomed manner. So about ix of the clock the altar in the chapel was arranged, and each thing prepared for the purpose; then Mr. Gage went and fetched the duke; and sir John Abridges and Mr. John Abridges did fetch the marquis of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer to mass, which was said both with elevation over the head, the peace-giving, blessing, and crossing on the crown, breathing, turning about, and all the other rites and incidents of old time appertaining. And when the time came the prisoners should receive the sacrament, the duke turned himself to the people and said first these words, or such like, 'My masters, I let you

all to understand that I do most faithfully believe this is the very right and true way, out of the which true religion you and I have been seduced these xvi years past, by the false and erroneous preaching of the new preachers, the which is the only cause of the great plague and vengeance which hath light upon the whole realm of England, and now likewise worthily fallen upon me and others here present for our unfaithfulness. And I do believe the holy sacrament here most assuredly to be our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ; and this I pray you all to testify, and pray for me.' After which words he kneeled down and asked all men forgiveness, and likewise forgave all men. Amongst others standing by, were the duke of Somerset's sons. Then all the rest confessed the declaration aforesaid, and so received the sacrament most humbly. Note, that a little before mass was begun, there was sent for into London for divers of the best commoners and common-council of the city to come and hear the conversion of the duke, amongst whom one Hartop, a goldsmith, and one Baskerfield were there.—The lady Jane looking through the window saw the duke and the rest going to the church."

A week after the execution of Northumberland we find, in the curious diary from which we have quoted several passages, the following picture of lady Jane Grey in her prison. Her father had been set free, and she herself had some liberty within the Tower precincts. The conversation here recorded not only illustrates her character, but shows what was her own feeling of the attempt at usurpation of which she had been made the unwilling instrument.* "Note, that on Tuesday, the xxixth of August, I dined at Partridge's house with my lady Jane, being there present, she sitting at the board's end, Partridge, his wife, Jacob, my lady's gentleman, and her man. She commanding Partridge and me to put on our caps, amongst our communication at the dinner, this was to be noted: after she had once or twice drunk to me and bade me heartily welcome, saith she, 'The queen's majesty is a merciful princess; I beseech God she may long continue, and send his bountiful grace upon her.' After that we fell in [discourse of] matters of religion; and she asked what he was that preached at Paul's on Sunday before; and so it was told to be one [blank in MS.] 'I pray you,' quoth she, 'have they mass in London?' 'Yea, forsooth,' quoth I, 'in some places.' 'It may be so,' quoth she, 'it is not so strange as the sudden conversion of the late duke; for who would have thought,' said she, 'he would have so done?' It was answered her, 'Perchance he thereby hoped to have had his pardon.' 'Pardon?' quoth she; 'woe worth him! he hath brought me and our stock in most miserable calamity and misery by his exceeding ambition. But for the answering that he hoped for life by his turning, though other men be of that opinion, I utterly am not; for what man is there living, I pray you, although he had been innocent, that would hope of life in that case; being in the field against the queen in person as general, and after his taking so hated and evil-spoken of by the commons? and at his coming into prison so wondered at, as the like was never heard by any man's time. Who was judge that he should hope for pardon, whose life was odious to all men? But what will ye more? like as

* This extract was printed by Sir Simonds d'Ewes; but, as the editor of the "Chronicle of Queen Jane" remarks, has been unknown to her biographers. Who the writer of the Diary was, is not ascertained; nor what office Master Partridge held.

his life was wicked and full of dissimulation, so was his end thereafter. I pray God, I nor no friends of mine die so. Should I, who [am] young and in my few years, forsake my faith for the love of life? Nay, God forbid. Much more he should not, whose fatal course, although he had lived his just number of years, could not have long continued. But life was sweet, it appeared: so he might have lived, you will say, he did [not] care how. Indeed the reason is good; for he that would have lived in chains to have had his life, by like would leave no other mean attempted. But God be merciful to us, for he sayeth, Whoso denieth him before men, he will not know him in his Father's kingdom.' With this and much like talk the dinner passed away; which ended, I thanked her ladyship that she would vouchsafe accept me in her company; and she thanked me likewise, and said I was welcome. She thanked Partridge also for bringing me to dinner. 'Madam,' said he, 'we were somewhat bold, not knowing that your ladyship dined below until we found your ladyship there.' And so Partridge and I departed."

THE enthusiasm with which the bloodless revolution in favour of queen Mary was hailed by the people, has been considered as a proof that the majority were Roman Catholic, and would gladly lay aside all the doctrine and discipline of the Church which had been so completely settled in the reign of Edward. We are inclined to receive this notion with considerable doubt. Another theory was set forth in the bitter satire of the Venetian ambassador, Micheli, that the English "would be full as zealous followers of the Mahometan or Jewish religion did the king profess either of them, or commanded his subjects to do so; that, in short, they will accommodate themselves to any religious persuasion, but most readily to one that promises to minister to licentiousness and profit."* At the accession of Mary the English were neither wholly devoted to Catholicism, nor indifferent to all religion. They accepted Mary with joy because, without entering into the subtleties of the divorce question of her mother, they knew that she was the direct heir to the crown, and that the attempt to set her aside was the unjust act of a few ambitious and unscrupulous men. There were many decided Protestants amongst her first adherents. They could not doubt that she would firmly cleave to the Mass and to the ceremonies of the Church, as in the time of her father; but they could not assume that she would venture to force the papal domination again upon England, or think it possible to take away the Bible from the people which her father had consented to give them. Mary herself saw the necessity of proceeding with great caution. The news of her accession was received in Rome with exultation; and the pope resolved to send cardinal Pole as legate to England. That measure was determined in a consistory as early as the 5th of August. But Pole was too discreet to risk such a demonstration before the temper of the people had been farther tried. Mary herself received a secret agent of Rome, Francis Commendone; and to him she professed her attachment to the Romish Church, and her desire to

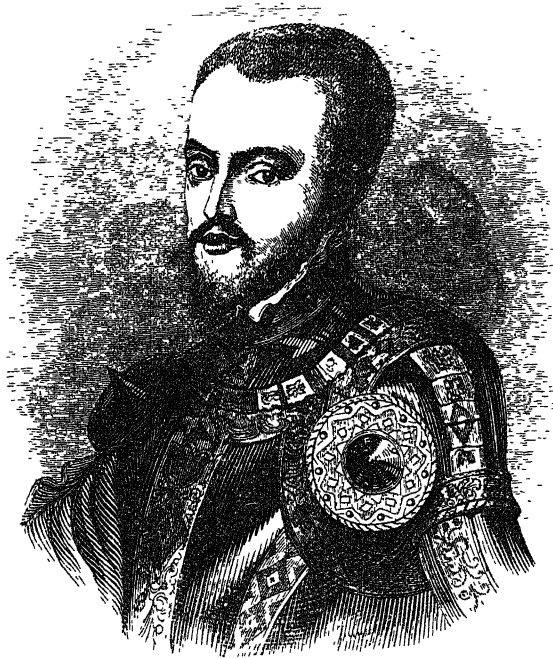
* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii.

bring back its worship. But she implored him to be cautious; for much was still unsettled. Mary, however, sent letters to the pope by this agent, which were so acceptable to Julius III., that he wept for joy, that his pontificate should be honoured by the restoration of England to its ancient obedience.

The coronation of Mary took place on the 1st of October. The old chroniclers, who are abundantly diffuse in their relations of these pageants, describe her appearance as she passed on the previous day, in procession from Westminster to the Tower, sitting in a chariot of tissue, drawn by six horses. "She sate in a gown of blue velvet, furred with powdered ermine, hanging on her head a cloth of tinsel beset with pearl and stone, and about the same upon her head a round circlet of gold, much like a hooped garland, beset so richly with many precious stones that their value was inestimable; the said caul and circle being so massy and ponderous that she was fain to bear up her head with her hands." The person of this queen and her qualities were described, four years later, by the Venetian ambassador: "She is of short stature, well made, thin and delicate, and moderately pretty; her eyes are so lively, that she inspires reverence and respect, and even fear, wherever she turns them; nevertheless she is very short sighted. Her voice is deep, almost like that of a man. She understands five languages, English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, in which last, however, she does not venture to converse. She is also much skilled in ladies' work,—such as producing all sorts of embroidery with the needle. She has a knowledge of music, chiefly on the lute, on which she plays exceedingly well. As to the qualities of her mind, it may be said of her that she is rash, disdainful, and parsimonious rather than liberal. She is endowed with great humility and patience, but withal high spirited, courageous, and resolute; having during the whole course of her adversity been guiltless of any the least approach to meanness of comportment; she is, moreover, devout and staunch in the defence of her religion. Some personal infirmities under which she labours are the causes to her of both public and private affliction; to remedy these recourse is had to frequent blood-letting, and this is the real cause of her paleness, and the general weakness of her frame." In this coronation procession there was a remarkable memento of the past, in the presence of Anne of Cleves, who rode in a chariot with the princess Elizabeth.

The first parliament of Mary met on the 5th of October, Gardiner being lord chancellor. The first session was a very short one, and the only public Act was that for repealing certain treasons and felonies, and all offences within the case of premunire. The object of this Act was to sweep away the penalties for denying the king's supremacy, and especially to relieve cardinal Pole from his dangers under the laws of Henry VIII. The people might dimly see from this measure how the course of the government was tending; if they could have doubted of it, after Latimer had been committed to the Tower on the 18th of November, and Cranmer on the 14th, and when the deprived bishops were restored to their sees. The second parliamentary session commenced on the 24th of October. The anti-reformers now went more boldly to work. "An Act concerning the queen's highness to have been born in a most just and lawful matrimony, and also repealing all Acts of parliament and sentences of divorce had and made to the contrary," might be soothing to the feelings of the queen; but the

declaring void so much of the statute of Henry VIII. as illegitimizes queen Mary, and indeed the whole tenour of the Act, confirmed the illegitimacy of the princess Elizabeth, as also declared by that statute. That this was a deep offence to Elizabeth, and to those protestants who looked to her as their future hope, was a consequence of this unnecessary insult. Mary had resolved on marriage with Philip, the son of Charles V., and she flattered



Philip of Spain. From a painting by Titian.

herself that with a Catholic husband, and with successors to be bred up in the ancient faith, the nation would soon abandon its heresies. The second Act of this session, "for the repeal of certain statutes made in the time of the reign of king Edward the Sixth," deals in a very summary manner with the labours of the preceding six years. The act for administering the Sacrament in two kinds; for the election of bishops; for legalising priest's marriages; for uniformity of service; for putting away divers books and images; and for regulating holy-days and fasting-days, are all annihilated by one comprehensive clause.* But something connected with the Reformation was retained. Divine service is to be performed as in the last year of Henry VIII. This was a concession to the prudence of Gardiner and others, who were not prepared to drive the reformers into open resistance by venturing upon too much in the outset of this ecclesiastical reaction. The queen still retained the title of Supreme Head of the Church; the name of

* 1 Maria, st. 2, c. 2.

the Pope was carefully kept out of view. Cardinal Pole, who was earnest and conscientious, pointed out the anomaly between the act repealing the Divorce and the retention of the Supremacy. The emperor recommended prudence and moderation.

On the 13th of November, a special commission was held at Guildhall for the trial of prisoners under charges of high-treason. These were the lady Jane Grey, her husband and his two brothers, and archbishop Cranmer. Another Dudley was arraigned in the following January. They all pleaded "guilty,"—Cranmer having originally pleaded "not guilty" and then withdrew the plea. The hope of mercy in thus pleading had probably been held out to all. But there were personal considerations working upon the queen which left the fate of the Dudleys still uncertain. In the Diary of the Resident in the Tower, we find it recorded, on the 18th December, "the lady Jane had the liberty of the Tower, so that she might walk in the queen's garden and on the hill; and the lord Robert and lord Guildford the liberty of the leads in the Bell Tower." But in a very short time the people, who had borne patiently enough the sudden change in the offices of religion, and who had heard the proclamation for the re-establishment of the mass, without any expression of general dislike, began to be stirred about the Spanish marriage. The emperor Charles V. proceeded in this matter with his accustomed caution. His minister, Renard, had hinted to the queen, in September, how desirable an alliance would be with the prince of Spain; and she said that whatever she should do would only be for the public good. It was hinted in the next reign, by sir Thomas Smith, that "a certain lady, having the picture sent unto her of one whom she never saw, who should be her husband, was so enamoured thereon and so ravished, that she languished for love, and was in a measure out of her wits for his long tarrying and absence."* Her faithful Commons represented the temper of the people when they resolved upon a petition to the queen that she would marry, but that she would select one of her own nation. The queen manifested most strikingly her own disposition when, on the evening of the 30th of October, she sent for the Spanish ambassador into her chamber, and having repeated the "*Veni Creator*," she knelt before the host, and gave him her sacred promise that she would marry no other man but the prince of Spain. She dismissed the Commons with a short answer when they came with their petition, saying that she should only look to God for counsel in a matter so important; and the ambassador of Charles soothed many scruples by a liberal distribution of eloquent gold. But the people were not so easily satisfied. They abhorred the notion of a Spanish alliance. "The Spaniards," they said, "were coming into the realm with harness and hand-guns. * * * * This realm should be brought to bondage by them as it was never afore, but should be utterly conquered." So ran the talk at a Kentish farrier's shop.† There was a political instinct in this discontent, which has often guided the English people rightly in difficult cases. An embassy departed from Brussels in December, to make a solemn tender of Philip's hand to the queen. Wotton, our ambassador to France, thus writes at this time to the Council, to communicate the opinion of Montmorency, the constable. The sagacious statesman and the English mob were of the same

* Strype.

† State Paper, quoted in Tytler, vol. ii. p. 278.

belief. "Because," quoth the constable, "that I have used to talk ever frankly with you, I cannot but say unto you as I think, that I do much lament your state of England." "Why so, sir?" quoth I,— "Why so?" quoth the constable. "You are a man that hath travelled abroad, and you know in what state all countries are where Spaniards bear any rule. Sicily, Naples, Lombardy, Sienna when they had it, and all other places where they have had any authority, do you not know how they are oppressed by the Spaniards? in what a bondage and misery they live? Even so must you look to be in England; for at the beginning, as they do everywhere, they will speak fair and genteely unto you, till the time they have made themselves somewhat strong in the realm, and won to them some great men of the realm; and then will they begin to get your ships into their hands, and likewise those few forts which you have, yea, and will build in new places meet for their purpose: and so a little and a little usurp still more and more, till they have all at their commandment."*

The reception of the embassy to arrange the terms of the marriage is quaintly recorded in the Diary of the Resident in the Tower. The ambassador was the famous count of Egmont, the Flemish noble, whose subsequent career has furnished so striking a theme for history and poetry. The count and other personages landed at the Tower-wharf; and "the lord of Devonshire, giving him the right-hand, brought him through Cheapside, and so forth to Westminster; the people, nothing rejoicing, held down their heads sorrowfully. The day before his coming in, as his retinue and harbingers came riding through London, the boys pelted at them with snow-balls; so hateful was the sight of their coming in to them." The "boys" of London who have ever been a peculiar race in intelligence and boldness, made a still more marked demonstration of popular disgust. After the terms of the treaty of marriage had been promulgated by the lord chancellor in a solemn assembly at Westminster, the boys had their games of English and Spaniards, in which one unlucky wight of their number, personating the prince of Spain, was hanged by his comrades, and narrowly escaped with his life.

The terms of the marriage treaty, which were assiduously promulgated, were in some degree calculated to diminish the public jealousy of the Spanish alliance. But few had received the benefit of a share in the million two hundred thousand crowns with which Charles V. had resolved the doubts of the Lords and Commons. The sceptical populace did not believe that all offices would be conferred upon English-born subjects; that the national laws and privileges would be preserved; that the English language would be used in the direction of English affairs; that the queen should not be taken out of the realm, nor her children; that in the case of the queen's death Philip should take no part in the government of the country; that England, at peace with France, should not be compromised by hostility of the house of Austria to that kingdom. The nation would not be satisfied with elaborate writings. A sturdy member of parliament asked, if the bond be violated, who is to sue upon the bond. The people knew the vast power of the emperor, and they dreaded that England might become a province of Spain. The insurrection of sir Thomas Wyatt was the exposition of the feeling of a great number of

* Tytler, Vol. II., p. 269.

the English nation, who felt that their enthusiasm for a legitimate successor to the crown was involving them in evils that could only be redressed by an appeal to arms. The insurrection, although it was deliberately organised and boldly conducted, was a failure. The evil to be resisted was not imminent enough; public opinion was too divided, to give an open attack upon the government a chance of success. It is fortunate for the cause of order, that established legal authority has a natural superiority over those who seek its overthrow; and that the remedy of grievances by violence is never obtained till the grievance becomes intolerable and the resistance universal.

In January, 1554, sir Thomas Carew and a band of friends "were up in Devonshire, resisting the prince of Spain's coming." Carew failed in his demonstration, and fled to France. The precipitancy of Carew forced his confederate, sir Thomas Wyatt, to take the field without full preparation. On the news arriving in London on the 25th of January, that Wyatt was up in Kent, the duke of Suffolk fled from his house at Sheen; and in Leicester, and other places, caused proclamation to be made against the queen's match. Those who follow bishop Cooper in the assertion that the duke again proclaimed his daughter as queen are contradicted by Holinshed and Stow. He was betrayed by his own park-keeper at Astley, near Coventry, and conducted to London as a prisoner. The rising of Wyatt was not so easily put down. He was in arms in the neighbourhood of Rochester when the duke of Norfolk, who had been fighting from the day of Flodden in intervals of his long life, was again sent to march against rebels, as he marched in 1536. Norfolk arrived at Rochester-bridge with the queen's guard, and a band of five hundred men hastily raised in London, of whom one Alexander Brett was the Captain. A herald proclaimed the queen's pardon, which the insurgents refused. Norfolk was about to attack their position, when Brett cried out, "Masters, we go to fight against our native countrymen of England and our friends,"—and then set forth how those against whom they were led were in arms to resist the coming in of the proud Spaniards. The Londoners then cried, "A Wyatt—A Wyatt;" and forthwith the duke, and the earl of Ormond, and the captain of the guards, fled; and Brett and his men, and three-fourths of the duke's retinue, went into the camp of the Kentishmen. Some of the guards came home, their bows without strings, their arrows gone. The cannon and ammunition of Norfolk were left behind in his flight. On the 1st of February, Wyatt reached Deptford; and the same day the queen, who conducted herself with the self-command and determination of her race, went to the Guildhall, and demanded the assistance of the city in a spirited speech, which was sure to produce a stirring effect, coming from a woman's lips: "I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that which already you do see and know, that is, how traitorously and seditiously a number of Kentish rebels have assembled themselves together against both us and you. Their pretence, as they said at the first, was only to resist a marriage determined between us and the prince of Spain. To the which pretended quarrel, and to all the rest of their evil contrived articles ye have been made privy. Since which time, we have caused divers of our privy council to resort eftsoons to the said rebels, and to demand of them the cause of their continuance in their seditious enterprise. By whose answers made again to our said council, it appeared that the marriage is found to be the least of

their quarrel. For they now swerving from their former articles, have betrayed the inward treason of their hearts, as most arrogantly demanding the possession of our person, the keeping of our Tower, and not only the placing and displacing of our councillors, but also to use them and us at their pleasures. Now, loving subjects, what I am, you right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation when I was wedded to the realm, and to the laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye promised your obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor to the crown of this realm of England, I not only take all christendom to witness, but also your Acts of parliament confirming the same. . . . And certainly, if I either did know or think, that this marriage should either turn to the danger or loss of any of you my loving subjects, or to the detriment or impairing of any part or parcel of the royal estate of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the word of a queen, I promise and assure you, that if it shall not probably appear before the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the singular benefit and commodity of all the whole realm; that then I will abstain, not only from this marriage, but also from any other, whereof peril may ensue to this most noble realm. Wherefore now as good faithful subjects pluck up your hearts, and like true men stand fast with your lawful prince against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not."

Of this speech, which Fox has preserved as well as Holinshed, the martyr-logist says, it is given "as near out of her own mouth as could be penned." The people of London were strangely moved by her courage and address. Protestant was as ready for her defence as catholic. The day after the queen went to Guildhall, the householders of London were in armour in the streets; "yea," says Stow, "this day and other days, the justices, serjeants-at-the-law, and other lawyers in Westminster-hall, pleaded in harness." On the 3rd of February, Wyatt marched from Deptford with two thousand men, and as they passed on the Surrey side, ordnance was discharged at them out of the White Tower. They passed on without injury from the unskilful cannoneers. The gates of London-bridge were closed; its drawbridge cut down; the shops in the city were shut; there was running up and down for weapons and harness; with aged men astonished and women weeping. At Southwark the rebels were favourably received; and bands from the country, raised by lord William Howard, took part with them. Wyatt issued a proclamation that no soldier should take anything without payment, and that he came only to resist the bringing in of the Spanish king. When he heard that it was proclaimed that whoever took him should have a thousand pounds, he set his name of Thomas Wyatt, fair written, on his cap. He lingered in Southwark till Shrove Tuesday, the sixth of February, finding it impossible to gain a passage at London-bridge; and all boats being forbidden to be taken to the Surrey side of the Thames, under pain of death. He then marched to Kingston, which he reached at night-fall. There was then no bridge over the Thames between London-bridge and Kingston-bridge. That bridge was broken down; but Wyatt dispersed the men who disputed his passage, and crossed in boats. The weary and hungry band kept

on their march to Brentford, and halted not till they reached Knights-bridge. Here they were detained by the dismantling of a gun-carriage, and their object of a night attack on Whitehall was defeated. When the news reached Westminster that the rebels had passed Brentford, drums went through the streets at four o'clock in the morning, warning all to arm themselves and repair to Charing-cross. It was broad day when, after this march through a cold February night, the Kentish men reached the west end of what we now call Piccadilly, but which was then known as "The way to Reading"—a highway amidst fields and trees. The first houses of the western suburb were a scattered few about the Mews—now Trafalgar-square—and one or two at the south end of the Haymarket, a country road. St. James's palace stood in St. James's Field, where, on that eventful morning, horse and foot had assembled. The movements of the royal forces and of the rebels are minutely described in the Diary of the Resident in the Tower, from which Stow has copied his narrative. "By ten of the clock, or somewhat later, the earl of Pembroke had set his troop of horsemen on the hill in the highway about the new bridge over against St. James's; his footmen were set in two battalions somewhat lower, and nearer Charing-cross. At the lane turning down by the brick-wall from Islington-ward, he had set also certain other horsemen, and he had planted his ordnance upon the hill-side. In the mean season Wyatt and his company planted his ordnance upon the hill beyond St. James's, almost over against the park corner; and himself, after a few words spoken to his soldiers, came down the old lane on foot, hard by the court gate at St. James's, with four or five ancients, his men marching in good array." This is not difficult to understand if we picture to ourselves that "the hill in the highway above the new bridge over against St. James's," where the earl of Pembroke "had set his troop of horsemen," was the elevated ground of "the way to Reading" at the upper end of the present St. James's-street; and the "new bridge" was over a stream in the Green Park: that "the lane turning down by the brick-wall from Islington-ward" near Charing-cross, where the earl's footmen were, was St. Martin's-lane, and that "the brick-wall" was the wall of the Convent Garden, which was a great inclosure extending from St. Martin's-lane far along the Strand.* Wyatt's men marched by St. James's Palace, by the road called "the old lane." The earl of Pembroke's horsemen hovered about them, but made no bold attempt to stop their march. Great ordnance were fired on both sides with little damage. The rebels passed on to Charing-cross, where was the lord chamberlain with the guard; but onward the rebels went towards the city, by the highway of the Strand. Amidst this little fighting, "the noise of women and children, while the conflict was at Charing-cross, was so great and shrill, that it was heard to the top of the White Tower." The queen seems to have been the only person of the whole court endowed with sense and courage. There was a party of Wyatt's force that separated from him by St. James's Palace, and went towards Westminster to attack Whitehall, and when they came suddenly through the gate-house, says another relater of these events, "Sir John Gage, and three of the judges that were meanly armed in old brigantines, were so frightened that they fled in at the gates in such haste that old

* See the plan of London by Aggas, 1578.

Gage fell down in the dirt, and was foul arrayed; and so shut the gates, whereat the rebels shot many arrows." * When "divers timorous and cold-hearted soldiers came to the queen, crying 'all is lost—away, away; a barge, a barge,' her grace never changed her cheer, nor would remove one foot of the house."† Her women were shrieking and hiding in helpless terror. Wyat continued his march, unresisted, though his men were in a disordered condition, on through Temple-bar and Fleet-street, till they came to Ludgate. He knocked at the gate; but was refused admittance by lord William Howard, with the words, "Avaunt, traitor! thou shalt not come in here." He rested awhile at the Bell-Savage gate; and then turned back, purposeless. After a skirmish at Temple-bar, a herald persuaded him to yield; and sir Maurice Berkeley received his submission, and carried him behind him on his horse to court. From Whitehall to the Tower was his last journey.

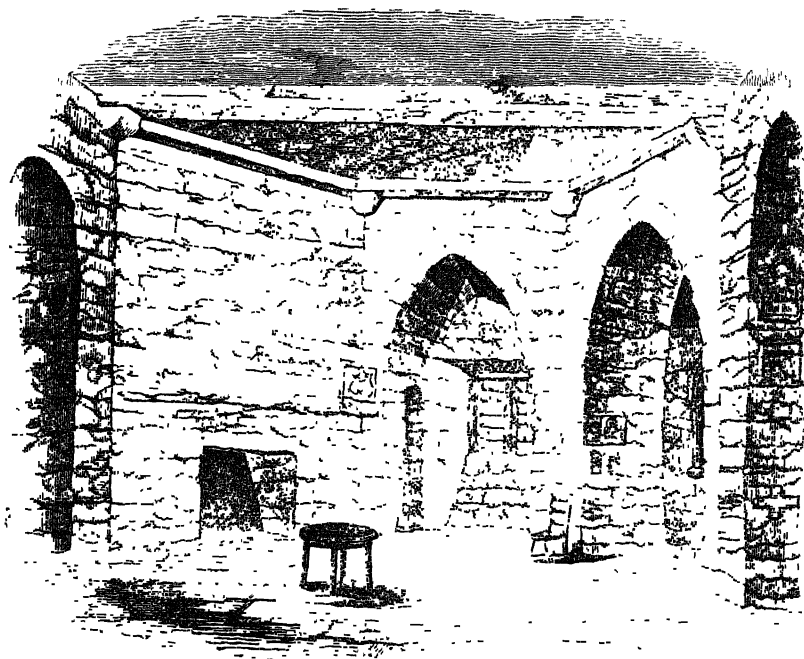
* Underhill's Narrative. Appendix to "Chronicle of Queen Jane."

† Proctor's Narrative, in Holinshed.



St. James's Palace and City of Westminster (Temp. James I.) Viewed from the Village of Caring.





Interior of the Beauchamp Tower.

CHAPTER V.

Gardiner's sermon before the queen—Execution of Lady Jane Grey and her husband—The gallows in every London street—Suffolk beheaded—Acquittal of Throckmorton—Elizabeth summoned to the Court—Elizabeth sent to the Tower—Her letter to Mary—Her death urged upon the queen—Her release from the Tower—Unquiet condition of the country—Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley at Oxford—Arrival of Philip—Marriage of Philip and Mary—Seditious books—Protestant exiles—Cardinal Pole and the Parliament—Pole's absolution of the kingdom—All the Statutes against heretics revived.

It was the 7th of February when the insurrection of Wyatt thus completely failed. Prisoner after prisoner continued to arrive at the Tower; and on Saturday, the 10th, the duke of Suffolk and lord John Grey were brought thither from Coventry. On Sunday, the 11th, Gardiner preached before the queen; and "he asked a boon of the queen's highness," that, like as she had beforetime extended her mercy, particularly and privately, through which lenity and gentleness conspiracy and open rebellion had grown, "she would now be merciful to the body of the commonwealth, and conservation thereof, which could not be unless the rotten and hurtful members thereof were cut off and consumed." From this exhortation, adds the chronicler, "all the

audience did gather there should follow sharp and cruel execution.” * The audience were not deceived in their belief. On Monday, the 12th, lord Guilford Dudley, the young husband of lady Jane Grey, was led out of his prison walls to die on Tower-hill at ten o'clock. Out of the window of “Partridge’s house” did Jane, whose own hour of final release was fast approaching, see him walk to the scaffold; and, long before the bell had again sounded the hour, she saw his body taken out of a cart, with his head in a cloth. On the green against the White Tower had a scaffold been erected, on which the lady Jane was to die. This tragedy was to have been completed on the Friday previous, but was then postponed for some unknown cause. When Gardiner begged his boon of the queen, some desire to spare two persons so young and so innocent—one, so fair, so accomplished,—might have lingered in her breast. The insurrection of Wyatt no doubt made their fate almost certain; but probably the unshaken constancy of this heroic woman was too deep an offence for bigotry to forgive. She was not likely to be pardoned who could boldly say to the priest sent to examine her, four days before her death, “I ground my faith upon God’s Word, and not upon the Church. For if the Church be a good Church, the faith of the Church must be tried by God’s Word, and not God’s Word by the Church.” † And so she went forth to die, at eleven o'clock on that “black Monday,” as Strype calls the day, “her countenance nothing abashed, neither her eyes anything moistened with tears.” ‡ And in her hand she held a book, whereon she prayed all the way till she came to the scaffold. That book she gave to Master Brydges, the lieutenant’s brother. In the British Museum is a Manual of Prayers, in English, which contains three remarkable notes; one, addressed by Guilford Dudley to his father, the duke of Suffolk; the second, a note, signed “Jane Duddeley,” also addressed to the duke; the third, a note from Jane to sir John Brydges, the lieutenant of the Tower, to whom it is supposed the book belonged. The note to the duke from Jane Dudley was probably written on the last morning of her life,—perhaps in the very hour when she saw her Guilford’s head taken out of the cart. It is worth extracting:—“The Lord comfort your grace, and that in his Word, wherein all creatures only are to be comforted. And though it has pleased God to take away two of your children, yet think not, I most humbly beseech your grace, that you have lost them, but trust that we, by leasing this mortal life, have won an immortal life. And I, for my part, as I have honoured your grace in this life, will pray for you in another life.” For three hundred years the simplest recital of the fate of this victim of ambition has stirred the sympathy of all true hearts; and we need not add a word to the sentences with which the ancient narrative of her execution terminates:—“She tied the kercher about her eyes; then, feeling for the block, said, ‘What shall I do? Where is it?’ One of the standers-by guiding her thereto, she laid her head down upon the block, and stretched forth her body, and said, ‘Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit.’ And so she ended.” § On the wall of the Beauchamp Tower, in which the Dudleys were imprisoned, is carved the word JANE; and there

* “Queen Jane and Queen Mary,” p. 54.

† “Communication between the Lady Jane and Master Feckenham.”—*Harleian Miscellany* vol. i. p. 369, ed. 1808.

‡ “Queen Jane and Queen Mary,” p. 56.

§ *Ibid*, p. 59.

was formerly a second inscription of the same name. May this record be kept as a sacred memorial of the noble creature to whom one of the earnest puritan race has paid an eloquent tribute:—"How justly may the masculine constancy of this excellent lady, whose many virtues the pens of her very enemies have acknowledged, rise up in judgment against all such poor spirits who, for fear of death, or other outward motives, shall deny God and his truth." *

Queen Mary appearing unquestionably sincere in her opinions; having, during the lives of her father and her brother, borne many griefs with fortitude; not open to any charge of licentiousness; and possessing courage and intellect; it has become a fashion not only to extenuate her evil actions, but to hold her up as a model of female sovereigns. We shall not attempt to rebut the exaggerations of her panegyrists, male or female; or continue our narrative with any desire to uphold the *sobriquet* which tradition has handed down. Nevertheless, we believe that the six scarlet letters attached to the name of Mary will not be obliterated by any historic solvent. The punishments which followed Wyatt's rebellion are considered by some moderns to have been mild. Mary's contemporaries thought them severe. On the day that Guilford and Jane Dudley were beheaded, the gallows was set up at every gate, and in every great thoroughfare of London. There is a brief catalogue of the use to which these machines were applied on the 13th, when, from Billingsgate to Hyde Park-corner, there were forty-eight men hanged at nineteen public places. On the 17th, certain captains, and twenty-two of the common rebels, were sent into Kent to suffer death.† Simon Renard, the ambassador from the emperor, writes to his master, on the 24th of February: "The queen has granted a general pardon to a multitude of people in Kent, after having caused about five score of the most guilty to be executed." Such executions were made under martial law; although Wyatt and some other leaders were reserved for trial by a jury. According to Renard, Mary was bent on severity:—"Numerous are the petitions presented to her majesty to have the pains of death exchanged for perpetual imprisonment, but to this she will not listen."‡ The duke of Suffolk was tried on the 17th, and beheaded on the 23rd. Wyatt and others pleaded guilty. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was tried on the 17th of April; which trial is one of the more remarkable in our criminal jurisprudence. It is chiefly remarkable for the boldness and ability with which Throckmorton defended himself for hours against the system then pursued by judges and counsel, of heaping accusation upon accusation upon a prisoner; of perplexing him with questions and urgent exhortations to confess his guilt; of reading over garbled evidence, not taken in open court, and requiring him to answer each separate charge as produced. The talent and energy of Throckmorton produced a most surprising result. He was acquitted. Of this rare event the ambassador of the emperor writes that the jury were "all heretics;" and adds, "When they carried him back to the Tower after his acquittal, the people with great joy raised shouts, and threw their caps in the air; which has so displeased the queen that she has

* Sir Simonds D'Ewes; "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 24.

† The details are in Machyn's "Diary," p. 55.

‡ Tytler, vol. ii. p. 309. The original has, "ne veult condescendre ny prester l'oreille."

been ill for three days." The Court, immediately after the trial, committed the jury to prison. Four made a submission and were released. Eight remained in confinement for many months; and when brought before the Council in the Star Chamber, were sentenced to the payment of enormous fines. It was more than a century before the infamous system was discontinued of punishing juries for verdicts in state prosecutions that were not agreeable to the crown.*

The execution of Wyatt was delayed till the 11th of April. He was reserved, that, out of some direct confession or indirect admission, one far higher in rank might be implicated in the crime of treason. Another suspected person was Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, who had been released from the Tower on the accession of Mary, and was now brought back to the prison in which he had been confined from his earliest years, after his father, the marquis of Exeter, had been beheaded.† Before Mary declared for her marriage with the prince of Spain, it was considered that Courtenay was her favoured suitor. For our times, the historical interest of this period of suspicion and alarm centres upon the princess Elizabeth. The future great queen of England was within a hair's breadth of the block upon which Jane Grey had perished.

On the 26th of January, the day after Wyatt made his armed demonstration at Maidstone, queen Mary wrote a letter from St. James's to the lady Elizabeth, who was at Ashridge, informing her of attempts to excite rebellion; and saying, "We, tendering the surety of your person, which might chance to be in some peril if any sudden tumult should arise, where you now be, or about Donnington, whither, as we understand, you are minded shortly to remove, do therefore think expedient you should put yourself in good readiness, with all convenient speed, to make your repair hither to us."‡ Elizabeth was seriously ill, and begged for delay. On the 10th of February, lord William Howard, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, arrived at Ashridge, and "required to have access upon my lady Elizabeth's grace; which obtained, we delivered unto her your highness's letter,"—so the three commissioners write to the queen on the 11th. Howard adds, "I, the lord admiral, declared the effect of your highness's pleasure, according to the credence given to us, being before advertised of her estate by your highness's physicians; by whom we did perceive the estate of her body to be such that, without danger to her person, we might well proceed to require her in your majesty's name, all excuses set apart, to repair to your highness with all convenient speed and diligence."§ The generally received statement that the commissioners, after Elizabeth had gone to rest, entered her chamber rudely, and told her that their orders were to bring her "quick or dead," does not agree with the tone of this official letter to the queen. It is clear that Elizabeth's journey from Ashridge to London was not a hurried one; although she might have been refused, when "she desired some longer respite until she had better recovered her strength." It was arranged that she should take five days to perform this journey of thirty-three miles, in a horse litter. She did not arrive at Westminster till the 22nd or 23rd of February, for the accounts vary. Machyn, the London funeral furnisher, thus records

* See Jardine's "Criminal Trials," vol. i.

† Stryke, "Memorials," vol. iii. p. 126.

‡ See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 423.

§ State Papers; Tytler, p. 426.

the entry of Elizabeth, in his formal style :—"Between four and five of the clock, at night, my lady Elizabeth's grace came riding to London through Smithfield unto Westminster, with a hundred velvet coats afore her grace. And her grace rode in a chariot open on both sides." * Elizabeth had rested a night and a day at Highgate. At this time, Noailles, the French ambassador, writes to his court :—"While the city was covered with gibbets, and the public buildings were crowded with the heads of the bravest men in the kingdom, the princess Elizabeth, for whom no better lot is foreseen, is lying ill about seven or eight miles from hence, so swoln and disfigured that her death is expected." The emperor's ambassador exhibits another picture of the high-minded woman, struggling with sickness and apprehension of danger :—"The lady Elizabeth arrived here yesterday, clad completely in white, surrounded by a great assemblage of the servants of the queen, besides her own people. She caused her litter to be uncovered, that she might show herself to the people. Her countenance was pale; her look, proud, lofty, and superbly disdainful; an expression which she assumed to disguise the mortification she felt." The queen would not see her; and kept her in the palace under guard.

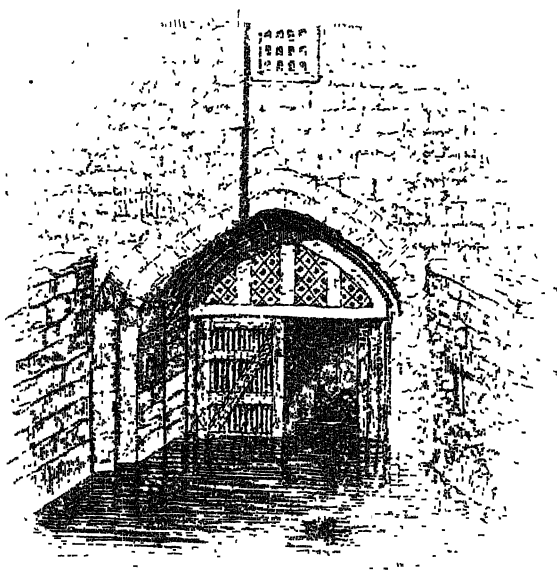
We have several glimpses of the secret agencies that were working to hurry on a terrible catastrophe, and of the counteracting influences. The queen tells the emperor's ambassador that the Council were labouring to discover the truth against Courtenay and Elizabeth; that Courtenay had corresponded in cypher with Carew, who was endeavouring to forward a marriage between him and Elizabeth; that proof of an overt act of treason was still wanting; that the Council had found by the confession of the son of the Lord Privy Seal, that he had received letters from Wyatt, during the rebellion, addressed to Elizabeth, which he had delivered to her. This ambassador was evidently urging the most violent proceedings; and constantly enforcing upon the queen that it was not safe for the prince of Spain to come to England whilst traitors were not brought to trial, and whilst mercy was shown to rebels. At first, Gardiner appears to have been disposed to shield Elizabeth from the fate which seemed impending over her. His latter conduct fully bears out the suspicion that he urged some desperate measure against the sister for whose blood Mary is said to have thirsted.† At length Elizabeth, on the 18th of March, was removed to the Tower. She was to have been conveyed to her prison, by water, on Saturday, the 17th. At the hour when the tide served, she earnestly sought an interview with the queen; but this was denied her. She then implored that she might take a little time to write to her sister. One of the lords who had her in charge refused this favour; but the earl of Sussex insisted that it should be granted, and said that he, as a true man, would deliver the letter. Whilst Elizabeth was writing, the tide had ebbed so far that the barge waiting to convey the prisoner could not have passed below the bridge; and she remained at Whitehall another day. Mary was incensed at this delay; and said that the lords "dared not have done such a thing in her father's life-time, and she wished he were alive again, but for a month."‡ This letter is one of the most characteristic documents of

* Machyn's "Diary," p. 57.

† Elizabeth affirmed to a French minister, after she came to the throne, that Mary "thirsted for her blood."

‡ Renard to the Emperor.

Elizabeth's history—earnest and solemn, bold and impassioned. In that dark hour few could have collected their thoughts to write such words as these:—
 “If any ever did try this old saying, that a king's word was more than another man's oath, I most humbly beseech your majesty to verify it in me, and to remember your last promise and my last demand, that I be not condemned without answer and due proof; which it seems that now I am, for that, without cause proved, I am, by your Council, from you commanded to go to the Tower, a place more wonted for a false traitor than a true subject. . . . To this present hour I protest afore God, who shall judge my truth, whatso-



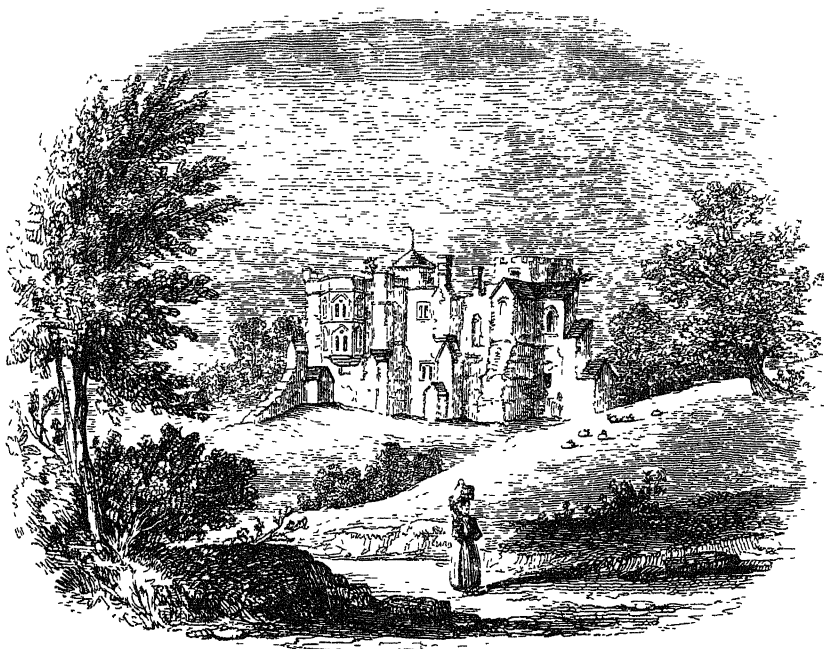
The Traitor's Gate.

ever malice shall devise, that I never practised, counselled, nor consented to anything that might be prejudicial to your person any way, or dangerous to the state by any mean. . . . I most humbly beseech your highness to pardon this my boldness, which innocency procures me to do, together with hope of your natural kindness, which I trust will not see me cast away without desert. . . . As for the traitor Wyatt, he might peradventure write me a letter; but, on my faith, I never received any from him. And as for the copy of my letter sent to the French king, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter, by any means; and to this my truth I will stand in to my death.”* These solemn asseverations, the gushings forth of an agonised soul, have been most unfairly stigmatised as “oaths and curses.”† It was Palm Sunday, the 18th of March, when Elizabeth was conveyed to the Tower. When she landed, “she said to the warders and soldiers, looking

* The letter is printed in Ellis, second series, vol. ii. p. 254.

† “She maintained with oaths and curses that she had never received any letter from Wyatt,” &c.—Lingard, vol. vii. p. 227.

up to heaven, 'O Lord! I never thought to have come in here as a prisoner; and I pray you all, good friends and fellows, bear me witness, that I come in no traitor, but as true a woman to the queen's majesty as any is now living; and thereon will I take my death.' " * On the 3rd of April, Renard wrote to the emperor, that he had told the queen "that it was of the utmost consequence the trials and execution of the criminals, especially of Courtenay and of the lady Elizabeth, should be concluded before the arrival of his highness" [the prince of Spain]. The ferocious ambassador was seconded by the crafty chancellor, who now said, "that as long as Elizabeth was alive, there would be no hope that the kingdom would be tranquil." Urged thus to put her sister to death, one cannot help believing that "natural kindness" saved Mary from the perpetration of this atrocity. Elizabeth herself expected death as the only release from her prison. In May, she asked "whether the lady Jane's scaffold were taken down, or no?" On the nineteenth of that month, she was removed from the Tower, and conveyed to Woodstock, where



Woodstock, as it appeared before 1714.

she long remained a prisoner; and, as the chronicler quaintly records, "hearing upon a time out of her garden a certain milkmaid singing pleasantly, she wished herself to be a milkmaid, as she was; saying that her case was better, and life more merrier, than was hers in that state she was." † Courtenay was

* "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 71.

† Holinshed.

taken to Fotheringay castle; and was ultimately released, and sent to Germany.

The unquiet condition of the country during the spring of 1554 is shadowed forth in many an anxious expression of the letters of the period. Renard laments over the confusions in religion, the differences of the privy counsellors, "the intestine hatred between the nobility and the people." Imposture availed itself of the prevailing disquiet to stimulate the superstitious by a pretended Voice in a Wall, which was silent when "God save queen Mary" was uttered; but which cried "So be it" when "God save the lady Elizabeth" was pronounced. More than seventeen thousand persons were collected round this house, according to Renard. The queen dreaded another insurrection, and declared that she had rather never have been born than that any outrage should happen to the prince of Spain. Paget, the ardent supporter of the Reformation under Edward, held that "it was vain to think of remedying the affairs of the kingdom without the re-establishment of religion; this, however, he said, would be difficult if one were to follow the opinion of the chancellor, who was anxious to carry through the matter by "fire and blood." This he said to Renard; to whom the queen averred "that the whole danger lay in London and the parts around it, as in Essex, where they had within these few days burnt a church, and would not have the mass back again." The remedy for these discontents was sought in a parliament, which might give its sanction to the chancellor's prescription of "fire and blood." This parliament met on the second of April. The Lords were not yet won



over to an abject submission to Gardiner's fiery creed, as Renard tells. "The Act for the punishment of heretics with death has passed in the Lower House, but I learn that the Peers will not consent that there should be in it any capital clause."* Paget, it seems, used his influence to oppose this bill;

* Renard to the Emperor, 28th April.

and when it was thrown out, Renard expressed his indignation against him; and says of this unlooked-for independence in the Peers, "the Council and all state affairs here are much embarrassed, the heretics encouraged, and the catholics thrown into alarm." The parliament, having passed an Act for vesting the regal power in the queen as fully as in any king, an Act for establishing the provisions of the queen's marriage contract, and an Act for the re-establishment of the bishopric of Durham, was dissolved on the 5th of May.

During these agitations the ecclesiastical policy of the advisers of Mary was sufficiently developed. The married clergy were expelled from their livings, although the laws of Edward VI., which allowed their marriage, remained unrepealed; "which act," says Strype, "was horridly severe and unnatural, and turned some thousands of men, women, and children, a begging." * Their benefices were filled by Popish priests, who renewed all the ceremonial observances that had been swept away; and sang masses for souls as in the past time. Seven bishops were deprived of their sees; one resigned; and six new bishops were consecrated by Gardiner on the 1st of April. In March, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were taken out of the Tower; and on the 16th of April the memorable disputations at Oxford commenced, upon the articles which Convocation had agreed upon, "of the sacrament of the altar, of transubstantiation, of the adoration of the eucharist, and of the reservation of the sacrament of the church." † In St. Mary's church the thirty-three commissioners sit before the altar. Cranmer is first brought before them, guarded by bill-men. He stands with his staff in his hand; and, desiring a copy of the articles, postpones his answer, offering to proceed to a public disputation. Ridley follows, making the same request. Latimer comes, but declines to dispute, on account of his age. That venerable preacher is strangely equipped, with a kerchief and nightcap on his head, and a great cap, such as townsmen used, with two broad flaps to button under his chin; an old Bristow frieze gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, from which hung his Testament; and his spectacles, without case, hanging about his neck. The disputations were conducted amidst the hissings, clappings, and taunts of the opposing divines, with an inevitable result. On the 20th, Cranmer and his two brethren were brought again before the commissioners; and Weston, the moderator, told the archbishop that he was overcome in disputation, which Cranmer denied, complaining of the brawlings and interruptions to which he had been subjected. They each refused to subscribe the articles, and were condemned as heretics. Then Cranmer said, "From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the just judgment of the Almighty; trusting to be present with him in Heaven; for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned." ‡

At the beginning of June, 1554, the Londoners are busy in preparations for the reception of the Spanish prince who is to be called king of England. They are gilding the Cross in Cheap; and they are pulling down every gallows from east to west on which Wyat's rebels had been rotting. On the 19th of July the Spanish squadron, with Philip, and a gorgeous train of Castilian

* "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. iii. p. 171.

† Strype, "Mem. of Cranmer," vol. ii. p. 108.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

and Flemish nobles, came to anchor at Southampton. The queen had arrived at Winchester; and thither the prince proceeded with his retinue, after having rested three days. He was scrupulously careful to avoid exciting the English jealousy. The attendants of his court were not allowed to land; and he exhorted his nobles to forget the Spanish customs, and adopt those of England, even to the drinking of its beer. On the 23rd he set out on horseback to Winchester, in a drenching rain; accompanied by thousands who gathered round him in his progress. That evening he saw his expectant betrothed, who had sent him a ring to greet him on his journey. Philip at this interview, interpreted one of the English customs very liberally, by kissing not only the queen but all her attendant ladies. At a public meeting the next day, Mary saluted Philip with a loving kiss. They were married on



King Philip.

the 25th, the festival of Saint James, the patron saint of Spain. Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, performed the ceremony. Cranmer, the archbishop, was in his prison at Oxford. Previous to the marriage an instrument was read by one of the Council of Charles V., declaring that the emperor had

bestowed upon his son the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, so that queen Mary might marry a sovereign like herself. At the banquet, Gardiner was the only person permitted to sit upon the dais with the king and queen. After a few days of banqueting, Philip and Mary proceeded to Windsor, where the king was installed as a knight of the garter; "at which time," says Holinshed, "a herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would have set the arms of Spain, but he was commanded to set them up again by certain lords." This was one sign of the times. Another, of a different complexion, was not less significant. At the solemn entry of the king and queen into London, on the 18th of August, amongst other decorations of the public places, the conduit in Gracechurch Street was painted with devices of the Nine Worthies, and of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Henry was represented with a Bible in his hand, on which was written *Verbum Dei*. "The bishop of Winchester, noting the book in Henry VIII.'s hand, shortly afterwards called the painter before him, and with vile words calling him traitor, asked why, and who bade him describe king Henry with a book in his hand, as is aforesaid, threatening him therefore to go to the Fleet." The painter humbly apologised, and said he thought he had done well. "Nay, said the bishop, it is against the queen's catholic proceedings. And so he painted him, shortly after, in the stead of the book of *Verbum Dei*, to have in his hands a new pair of gloves."* During this summer and autumn the streets of London were filled with Spaniards, much to the displeasure of the citizens. But they were consoled in the autumn by seeing some of the wealth of the New World poured into our island; for twenty cars paraded through the streets to the Tower, containing fourscore and seventeen chests of silver.

But wedding-feasts, and pageants, and even twenty cars of silver to the Tower, could not divert serious men from looking with disgust and alarm at the change which was symbolised by the obliteration of the Bible from the painting of Henry VIII. Fox has a curious record of this unquiet time: "About the fifth day of October, and within a fortnight following, were divers, as well householders as servants and prentices, apprehended and taken, and committed to sundry prisons, for the having and selling of certain books which were sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries; which books nipped a great number so near, that within one fortnight there were little less than threescore imprisoned for this matter." These preachers that fled from persecution were certainly not nice in their language. Bale, a great master of epithets, reviled "gagling Gardiner, butcherly Bonner, and trifling Tunstall." The exiled bishop Ponet calls Gardiner "the great devil and cut-throat of England." The politics of these exiles, too, were somewhat of a revolutionary nature, in holding that power was derived from the people, and that Mary was disqualified from ruling, by reason of her sex. They set forth, moreover, various strong arguments against the Spaniards, besides the one great grievance of the change in religion.† Knox, and Goodman, and Becon, and Aylmer, wanderers in foreign lands,

* "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 79.

† See Dr. Maitland's curious papers on "Puritan Style," and "Puritan Politics," in "Essays on the Reformation."

wrote with the violence that few who hold themselves oppressed have wisdom to restrain. We may lament over the bitter and reviling spirit of these earnest men; but even if we should see with Dr. Maitland, "as a mere matter of fact, in how great a degree the persecution of the Protestants in England was caused by the conduct of their brethren who were in exile," we should not accept their coarseness and rashness as a justification of this persecution. Let us endeavour to relate this fearful story with a full sense of the severe, uncompromising, and even unchristian spirit that belonged to some of the leaders in the English and Scottish Reformation; but let us not compromise our hatred of ferocious bigotry by accepting as apology for it the provocations to be found in unique black-letter tracts. When we are asked, after carefully reading the copious extracts from these books, "What kindled and fanned the fires of Smithfield?"* we shall still answer, the bigotry of an arrogant church, carried to excess by cruel and crafty men. If the Gardiners and Bonners revenged the insults they had received from Protestants abroad by burning Protestants at home, the greater their guilt and their shame.

Before the meeting of the parliament that refused to make heresy a capital crime, Renard wrote to the emperor: "Assuredly, sire, if the pensions had been given before this, and previous to the arrival of his highness, it would have been the way to bring them [the parliament] over to our wishes, being a people over whom we should obtain influence by liberality and gifts."† When his highness was king of England he showed his policy in remedying this omission. The fourscore and seventeen chests of silver were not conveyed to the Tower to lie idle in its vaults. With a transparent simplicity, Micheli, the Venetian ambassador, says of Philip, "He allows pensions, amounting to upwards of fifty-four thousand scudi in gold, to some Englishmen who remained faithful to the queen in the conspiracy of Wyatt, without receiving any farther service from them." It was a common exclamation with Philip, "Better not reign at all than reign over heretics." He had great projects in view. The heretical island was to be reconciled to Rome. The papal legate was again to hold a divided sway with the temporal sovereign. Cardinal Pole was coming to threaten or to absolve. The parliament was to meet in November. Pole, a far nobler spirit than the rapacious courtiers and the apostate bishops who were waiting to lick the dust off his shoes, came up the Thames on the 14th of November, in a gorgeous barge, with a silver cross at its prow. Parliament had met two days before, well prepared now for unlimited obedience. On the 27th the great legate met that parliament at Whitehall, where he sat under a canopy with Philip and Mary. He returned thanks to the king and queen, who had restored him, a banished man, to be a member of the commonwealth; he went over the history of the connection of this island with the apostolic see, from the earliest times; he pointed out the miseries which the realm had suffered by swerving from that unity; they were now under a queen whom God had raised up, to reign for the restitution of true religion, and the extirpation of all errors and sects, and had joined in marriage with a prince of like religion; he had himself come, having full and ample commission, to

* See Dr. Maitland's "Essays on the Reformation," p. 41.

† Tytler, vol. ii. p. 369.

reconcile and to forgive, provided all laws and statutes which interfered with the exercise of his commission should be revoked and repealed. After this oration, the Lords and Commons went before the king and queen and humbly desired that their majesties would intercede with the cardinal for absolution, and that the whole people of the realm should be received into the bosom of the Church as children repentant. And then all the parliament went on their knees, and the legate absolved. How utterly the Lords and Commons of England were abased before the power of Rome, may be seen in the preamble to the Act "repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome, since the twentieth year of king Henry VIII."

"We the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons assembled in this present parliament, representing the whole body of the realm of England and the dominions of the same. In the name of ourselves particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this our supplication directed to your majesties with the most humble suit, that it may by your graces' intercession and means be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole, Legate, sent especially hither from our most Holy Father the Pope, Julius the third, and the See Apostolic of Rome, Do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant of the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions aforesaid, against the said See Apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugn the same; offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplication that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance we be, and shall be always ready, under and with the authority of your majesties, to the utmost of our powers, to do that shall lie in us, for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present parliament, as well for ourselves as for the whole body whom we represent." *

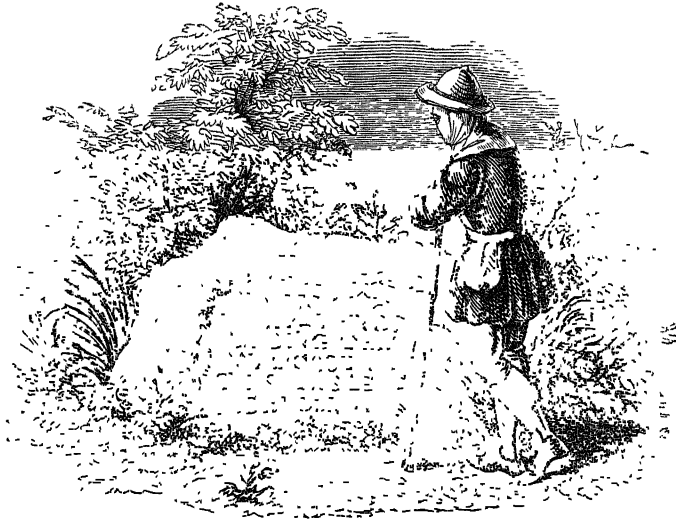
That Statute of submission explains, in its second title, how the great difficulty had been smoothed over—not of a change of religion, for that was a trifling matter—the difficulty of dealing with the plunder of the church. The Act is "also for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity." From this degraded parliament thirty-seven members of the House of Commons voluntarily seceded; for which demonstration of independence they were indicted. All was now easy. A new statute of treason was passed against those who preached or openly spoke against the title of the king and queen and their issue. The existence of "profane and schismatical conventicles" was recognised, in a law which declared it treason to pray for the queen's death, as there said to be practised. But the crowning glory of this parliament was the revival of all the statutes against heretics. Without this, the great work of Mary's reign could not have been accomplished. The Statute is a short one; but it was thoroughly efficient.

"An Act for the renewing of three Statutes made for the punishment of Heresies: For the eschewing and avoiding of errors and heresies which of late years have risen, grown, and much increased within this realm, for that the

* 1 & 2 Philip and Mary. 2. 8.

ordinaries have wanted authority to proceed against those that were infected therewith: Be it therefore ordained and enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the Statute made in the fifth year of the reign of king Richard the Second, concerning the arresting and apprehension of erroneous and heretical preachers, and one other Statute made in the second year of the reign of king Henry the Fourth concerning the repressing of heresies and punishment of heretics, and also one other Statute made in the second year of king Henry the Fifth, concerning the suppression of heresy and Lollardy, and every article, branch, and sentence contained in the same three several Acts, and every of them, shall from the 20th day of January next coming be revived and be in full force, strength, and effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, for ever." *

* 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 6.



Stone at Hadleigh, to the memory of Dr. Taylor.

CHAPTER VI.

The Marian persecution—Summary of the victims—Commission to try preachers and heretics—Hooper, and four others, condemned—Martyrdom of Hooper—Rowland Taylor—His martyrdom at Hadleigh—Married clergymen especially persecuted—Thomas Hawkes and bishop Bonner—Philpot—Toleration not practised by Reformers—The spy-system for discovery of heresy—Martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley—Cranmer's recantation—His repentance, and last exhortation—His martyrdom.

THE Act of 1555, for the renewing of the Statutes for the punishment of heretics,—which statutes had been repealed in 1547,—was not to sleep. Gardiner and Bonner were not to play the part of "fond fathers," who had "bound up the threatening twigs of birch," only to stick the rod "in their children's sight for terror, not to use." With exquisite candour we are told,—“One knows perfectly, and is tired of being told over and over again, that the law for burning heretics was a very bad law, and ought never to have existed. But, in fact, it did exist, and it was the law of the country.”* On the 19th of January, 1555, that law was not in force. On the 20th of January it came into full operation. On the 4th of February, John Rogers was burnt in Smithfield under the Act for the renewal of the Statutes “concerning punishment and reformation of heretics and Lollards.” On the 8th of February, Laurence Saunders was burnt at Coventry. On the 9th, John Hooper was burnt at Gloucester. On the same day, Rowland Taylor was

* Dr. Maitland, “Essays,” p. 420.

burnt at Hadleigh. Previous to the enactment which came into force on the 20th of January, the Ordinaries had "wanted authority to proceed" against those who were infected with "errors and heresies which of late have arisen, grown, and much increased within this realm;"* and thus these four of the first Protestant martyrs could not have been burnt until a new law was passed. The meaning of the law was made perfectly intelligible to all England from the 4th of February, 1555, to the 10th of November, 1558,—that crowning offering of five heretics at Canterbury, of whom two were women, having taken place one week before the death of queen Mary. These executions were not sharp and passionate outbursts of ecclesiastical power, exasperated by popular fury; or of regal tyranny, hurried into extremities by dread of rebellion. They were the calm and deliberate exposition of the principles by which England was to be governed under its Roman Catholic church and sovereigns. The appetite for blood was to be sustained in healthful energy, and not sickened by inordinate meals. In 1555, seventy-one heretics were executed; in 1556, eighty-three; † in 1557, eighty-eight; in 1558, forty. There was also a nice adjustment of the number of victims to the local demand. We are accustomed to talk of "the fires of Smithfield," as if London had a very undue proportion of the instruction of such sights. But in these four years, during which London and Middlesex saw fifty-eight executions, Kent had fifty-four, Essex fifty-one, Sussex forty-one, Suffolk and Norfolk thirty-one, Gloucester nine, Warwick six, whilst thirty-two were distributed over thirteen other districts. Nor was the lesson of the fagot confined to bishops and priests. Strype makes a total of the burnings to be 288; Speed, 277; and he classifies them as five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, a hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine unmarried women, two boys, and two infants. No selection could have been more impartial.

On the 1st of January, 1555, the work was actively commenced that, in the end, was to make England thoroughly Protestant. Many of the leading divines were in prison; but smaller birds were to be taken in the fowler's net. On that day Thomas Rose, a man whose somewhat extravagant zeal had brought him into trouble in the days of king Henry, was arrested with thirty of his congregation, at a sheerman's house in Bow Church-yard. Driven from the use of the English service book which was banished from the churches; offended with the doctrines and ceremonial observances which had again become universal;—they prayed in secret, and often changed their places of meeting. They assembled in ships lying in the Thames; in empty lofts; in the fields. They held correspondence with those in exile; they made collections for those in prison. When men are oppressed for conscience sake no dread of imprisonment or death can prevent their combination. In the meetings of these impassioned men, the English spirit of hatred of tyranny was probably as strong as the Christian spirit of patience; and thus it has been a reproach to the sufferers in the Marian persecution that, smitten on one cheek they did not invariably turn the other cheek to the smiter. In all this terrible history there is nothing more remarkable than the boldness with

* 1 Philip and Mary, c. 6.

† Strype gives the total for 1556 as eighty-nine; but in his local divisions of that year the aggregate is only eighty-three.

which the reproofs and scoffs of their judges were often met by defiance and contempt from learned and ignorant. These men knew that they were set upon a stage, to fight or to yield. There was only one of two courses open to them,—to apostatise or to die. When they made up their minds to die, they were not likely to show any especial reverence to the persons, or the offices, of the chancellor or the bishop whom they knew to be the instigators of their persecution. The men of the conventicle in Bow Churchyard went to join many of the same minds in the Marshalsea, the Fleet, and the Clink; and Hooper, the deprived bishop of Gloucester, wrote to them from his own prison a letter of consolation, in which he says, “Dear brethren and sisters, continually fight the fight of the Lord. Your cause is most just and godly. . . . The adversaries’ weapons against you be nothing but flesh, blood, and tyranny. . . . Boldly withstand them, though it cost you the price of your life.”* On the 22nd of January, the preachers who were in prison were brought up before Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, and others, at the bishop’s house in Southwark, and to the question whether they would become convert, having replied that they would stand to what they had taught, were committed to stricter confinement. Rogers, who had been a prebendary of St. Paul’s, was one of these. Cardinal Pole, on the 23rd, exhorted the members of Convocation to repair to their cures, and there to win the people with gentleness, and not endeavour to overcome them by rigour. On the 25th, St. Paul’s day, there was a solemn procession of bishops and priests to St. Paul’s to offer thanksgiving for their conversion to the catholic church; and the king was there, and the cardinal; and that day was ever afterwards to be celebrated as The Feast of the Reconciliation. But though Pole was probably sincere when he exhorted to gentleness instead of rigour, he left a little instrument in the hands of the bishop of Winchester, under which, as he might easily have anticipated, some rough work would be accomplished. On the 28th a commission, under the authority of the cardinal legate, held its first sitting in the church of St. Mary Overies, to order, according to the laws, all such preachers and heretics as were in prison. Including Gardiner and Bonner, there were present thirteen bishops, and several noblemen and other lay commissioners.

They sat again on the 29th and 30th. On these occasions, there were no long scholastic disputations, as in the cases of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley at Oxford. The mode of proceeding with Dr. Rowland Taylor, which he has himself recorded, was probably nearly the same with all. “First, my lord chancellor said, ‘You among others are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king’s and queen’s majesties’ favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we, generally, have received in this realm; from the which, God be thanked, we are now clearly delivered miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerit.’ To this I answered, that so to rise should be the greatest fall that ever I could receive; for I should so fall from my dear Saviour Christ to Antichrist.” There were then exhortations to submit, assuming various forms of reproach or solicitation, which were refused in no very measured terms. The colloquy between Gardiner and

* Strype, vol. iii. part ii. pp. 275, 276.

Rogers offers a characteristic example. "Gardiner said, it was vain-glory in him to stand out against the whole church. He protested it was his conscience, and not vain-glory, that swayed him; for his part, he would have nothing to do with the anti-christian church of Rome. Gardiner said, by that he condemned the queen, and the whole realm, to be of the church of Antichrist. Rogers said, the queen would have done well enough if it had not been for his counsel. Gardiner said, the queen went before them in those counsels, which proceeded of her own motion. Rogers said, he would never believe that. The bishop of Carlisle said, they could all bear him witness to it. Rogers said, they would all witness for one another." * On the first day of these scenes at St. Mary Overies, the proceedings were public, and a great crowd filled the church. On the other days the doors were shut. The boldness of such resolved men was a dangerous example. The commissioners abruptly terminated their immediate work, in the condemnation of Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, Saunders, and Bradford, who at the same time were excommunicated. The sentence upon Bradford was not executed till July. The fate of the other four was more quickly decided.

It has been truly observed by a judicious writer, that in the limited historical reading of young persons, "the horrors of this period have been suffered to hold too prominent a place." † Minute details of physical suffering, even when they are associated with the heroic fortitude of the sufferers, had better be imagined than related. Yet it is impossible to pass over this momentous period of English history with any vague notice of the great battle that was then fought between Romanism and Protestantism. We must look upon the combatants in this unequal fight of conscience against power, as they present themselves in their individual actions and characters, to be enabled properly to appreciate their spiritual victory in their deepest degradation. Beautifully has it been said, "The firm endurance of sufferings by the martyrs of conscience, if it be rightly contemplated, is the most consolatory spectacle in the clouded life of man; far more ennobling and sublime than the outward victories of virtue, which must be partly won by weapons not her own, and are often the lot of her foulest foes. Magnanimity in enduring pain for the sake of conscience is not, indeed, an unerring mark of rectitude; but it is, of all other destinies, that which most exalts the sect or party whom it visits, and bestows on their story an undying command over the hearts of their fellow-men." ‡

Fuller, in two of his suggestive sentences, has attempted to give the characteristics of the chief of the sufferers: "The same devotion had different looks in several martyrs; frowning in stern Hooper, weeping in meek Bradford, and smiling constantly in pleasant Taylor." § Again: "Of all the Marian martyrs, Mr. Philpot was the best-born gentleman; bishop Ridley the profoundest scholar; Mr. Bradford the holiest and devoutest man; archbishop Cranmer, of the mildest and meekest temper; bishop Hooper, of the sternest and austere nature; Dr. Taylor had the merriest and pleasantest wit; Mr.

* Burnet, part ii. book ii. p. 301, abridged from Rogers' own narrative, in Fox.

† "Historical Parallels," vol. iii. p. 271.

‡ Mackintosh, History, vol. ii. p. 327.

§ "Worthies of England," vol. ii. p. 328.

Latimer had the plainest and simplest heart." * Let us first look at the stories of "stern Hooper" and "pleasant Taylor," to see how the same earnest convictions elevate the "austerest" and the "merriest" natures into equal sublimity and beauty. They suffered on the same day.

After Hooper's condemnation he was visited by Bonner and his chaplains, in Newgate, to persuade him to recant. The rumour went forth that the fear of death had prevailed over his constancy. Fox says that the persecuting bishop and his emissaries spread these rumours, to bring discredit on Hooper and his devotion. "What motive could Bonner and his chaplains have for spreading such a report?" is confidently asked.† Hooper wrote a letter to rebut the rumour. He conversed and argued, he says, with the bishop and his chaplains, that he might not be accused of want of learning, or of pride; but that he was more than ever confirmed in the truth which he had preached. He sums up his letter in these solemn words: "I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen, heretofore; and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same, by God's grace, with my blood." Hooper, with his fellow-convict Rogers, underwent together the ceremony of degradation on the 4th of February. Rogers went to the stake at Smithfield. Hooper was sent to his former episcopal city of Gloucester, where he arrived after a ride of three days. The mayor and aldermen of Gloucester received their once-honoured bishop with kindness. They could not forget that he had been the friend of the poor, whom he fed and taught daily in his hall. He was to have been lodged in the common gaol; but the men who had guarded him from London entreated that he might remain in a private house, for that he had deported himself so patiently on his way that a child might keep him. On the morning of the 9th he went forth to his execution. It was the market-day, and round the stake, fixed near a great elm-tree in front of the cathedral, many thousand persons were assembled. As he walked through the crowd, leaning upon a staff, he looked cheerfully upon those whom he knew; and as he heard the bitter laments of the people he lifted his eyes up to heaven. A pardon was offered him if he would recant; but he exclaimed, "If you love my soul, take it away." Raising his voice in prayer, the crowd was commanded back. When he was fastened by hoops of iron to the stake, he said the trouble was needless, for God would give him strength to abide the extremity of the fire without bands. His sufferings were of the most lingering nature; but he remained calm and still to the last; and whilst flames were slowly consuming him, died as quietly as a child in his bed.

Of all the heroes of the Reformation, Rowland Taylor is, to our minds, the most interesting, because the most natural. Of a hearty, bluff English nature, full of kindliness and pleasantry, he is perfectly unconscious of playing a great part in this terrible drama, and goes to his death as gaily as to a marriage-feast. Fuller says, that those "who admire the temper of sir Thomas More jesting with the axe of the executioner, will excuse our Taylor making himself merry with the stake." He has been compared to Socrates in his simplicity and jocularity, his affection for his friends, and his resolution to shrink from no danger rather than compromise the goodness of his cause.‡

* "Church History," book viii. part ii.

‡ "Historical Parallels," vol. iii. p. 272.

† Dr. Maitland, "Essays," p. 450.

The account which Fox has given of Rowland Taylor is held to be only inferior to the eloquence and dignity of the Phædon of Plato.* It is difficult to give the spirit of such a narrative without impairing its force; but we may select one or two of its more remarkable points. Taylor had been chaplain to archbishop Cranmer; but having been appointed rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, he devoted himself most zealously to the duties of his parish. He was married, and had nine children. Soon after the accession of Mary some zealous papists took forcible possession of his church, and brought a priest to perform mass. Taylor remonstrated, with more wrath than worldly prudence, against what he called popish idolatry; and he was cited to appear in London before the chancellor. He was strongly urged to fly; and his faithful servant, John Hull, who rode with him to London, entreated him to shun the impending danger, and declared that he would follow him in all perils. He came before Gardiner, with whom his long conference ended by the overpowering argument, "Carry him to prison." He remained in confinement for about a year and three quarters; when he was brought before the commissioners and condemned as a heretic. His degradation was performed by Bonner; the usual mode being to put the garments of a Roman Catholic priest on the clerk-convict, and then to strip them off. Taylor refused to put them on; and was forcibly robed by another. "And when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his sides, and said, 'How say you, my lord, am I not a goodly fool? How say you, my masters, if I were in Cheap, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys?'" The final ceremony was for the bishop to give the heretic a blow on his breast with his crosier-staff. "The bishop's chaplain said, 'My lord, strike him not, for he will sure strike again.' 'Yes, by St. Peter, will I,' quoth Dr. Taylor, 'the cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel.' So the bishop laid his curse on him, and struck him not." When he went back to his fellow-prisoner Bradford, he told him the chaplain had said he would strike again; "and by my troth," said he, rubbing his hands, "I made him believe I would do so indeed." We give the scene as we find it, as an exhibition of character and of manners. What Heber calls "the coarse vigour of his pleasantry," may justly appear to some as foolish irreverence. But, under this rough contempt of an authority which he despised, there was in this parish priest a tenderness and love most truly Christian. At two o'clock on a February morning one of the sheriffs of London led Taylor out of his prison, to deliver him to the sheriff of Essex, in Aldgate. "Now when the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph church, Elizabeth, his daughter, cried, saying, 'O my dear father! Mother, mother, here is my father led away.' Then cried his wife, 'Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?' for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, 'Dear wife, I am here,' and staid. The sheriff's men would have led him forth, but the sheriff said, 'Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife;' and so they staid. Then came she to him; and he took his daughter Mary in his arms, and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and said the Lord's Prayer: at which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers other of the company. After they had prayed, he

* Heber, "Life of Jeremy Taylor."

rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, 'Farewell, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children.' And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, 'God bless thee, and make thee his servant:' and kissing Elizabeth, he said, 'God bless thee, I pray you all stand strong and stedfast unto Christ, and his words, and keep you from idolatry.' Then said his wife, 'God be with thee, dear Rowland. I will with God's grace meet thee at Hadleigh.' And so he was led forth to the Woolsack [an inn], and at his coming out, John Hull before spoken of stood at the rails with Dr. Taylor's son. When Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, 'Come hither, my son Thomas;' and John Hull lifted up the child, and set him on the horse, before his father. Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son; laid his hand on the child's head, and blessed him; and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, 'Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had.' And so they rode forth; the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him." The narrative of Fox conducts the condemned man by slow steps to his beloved Hadleigh. He is placid and even merry to the last. He jests upon his burly and corpulent frame; and holds that the worms in Hadleigh church-yard will be deceived, for the carcase that should have been theirs will be burnt to ashes. He asks to be taken through Hadleigh. The streets are lined with his old parishioners. He could see them, but they could not look upon his face, which had been covered through his journey with a hood, having holes for the eyes and mouth. In Hadleigh there still stand some alms-houses, built by William Pykeham, the rector, at the end of the fifteenth century. Taylor, "stopping by the alms-houses, cast out of a glove to the inmates of them such money as remained of what charitable persons had given for his support in prison, his benefices being sequestrated; and missing two of them he asked, 'Is the blind man, and the blind woman that dwelt here alive?' He was answered, 'Yea, they are there within.' Then threw he glove and all into the window, and so rode forth." When he came to Aldham Common, where he was to suffer, he said, "Thanked be God, I am even at home;" and lighting from his horse, he tore the hood from his head. "When the people saw his reverend and ancient face, and long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, 'God save thee good Dr. Taylor.'" He would have spoken to them; but a guard thrust a tip-staff into his mouth. As they were piling the fagots, a brutal man cast a fagot at him, which wounded him so that the blood ran down his face. "O friend," said he, "I have harm enough; what needed that?" Let us draw a veil over his sufferings; and see only the poor woman who knelt at the stake to join in his prayers, and would not be driven away.

In the persecution of the Protestant divines, there was one distinct evidence of their secession from the principles of the Church of Rome, which marked them out as victims. The greater number of them were married. Rogers, when he requested that his wife might be with him after his condemnation, was told that she was not his wife; and Gardiner and Bonner refused him this consolation. As he went to the stake at Smithfield, the faithful woman met him on his way with her ten children. Laurence Saunders was allowed to see his infant, when his wife was denied admittance to him at the Mar-

shalsea. Taking the child in his arms, he exclaimed, "Yea, if there were no other cause for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy!" He wrote to that wife to prepare him a shirt, "which you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open." When Hooper was brought before Gardiner, the crafty prelate asked him whether he was married? "Yea, my lord," was the answer; "and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me." Rowland Taylor, kneeling with his wife and daughters on the dark February morning in the porch of St. Botolph, is the crowning example of the holiness of the family affections. Of such men it has been touchingly said, that "during this persecution, the married clergy were observed to suffer with most alacrity. They were bearing testimony to the validity and sanctity of their marriage, against the foul and unchristian aspersions of the Romish persecutors. The honour of their wives and children was at stake. The desire of leaving them an unsullied name, and a virtuous example, combined with the sense of religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from the very ties which, in other circumstances, might have weakened it."*

Gardiner, according to our Protestant historians, "having broken the ice of burning heretics, and taken off the heads and captains," left the work to be carried on by Bonner. On the day on which Taylor and Hooper suffered, six persons were arraigned and condemned before the bishop of London, the lord mayor and sheriffs, and members of the council. They were of various callings,—a butcher, a barber, a weaver, a gentleman, a priest, and an apprentice to a silk-weaver. On the 10th, being Sunday, Alfonso de Castro, a Spanish friar, the confessor of king Philip, preached before the king; "and in his sermon inveighed against the bishops for burning of men; saying, that they learned it not in Scripture, to put any to death for conscience, but on the contrary, rather to let them live and be converted."† It was the desire of Philip to make himself acceptable to the English; and, probably, at this time, the severe bigotry which led him four years later to be present at an *auto-da-fé* in Valladolid, might have been kept down by kindlier feelings. There was a suspension of these cruel exhibitions for about five weeks after this remarkable sermon. But on the 17th of March, Thomas Tomkins, the weaver, condemned on the 9th of February, was burnt at Smithfield; on the 26th, William Hunter, the silk-weaver's apprentice, was burnt at Braintree; on the 28th, William Pigot, the butcher, was also burnt at Braintree; and Stephen Knight, the barber, at Maldon. John Laurence, the priest, was burnt at Colchester, on the 29th. Thomas Hawkes, the gentleman, was reserved to suffer at Coggeshall, on the 10th of June.

The story of Thomas Hawkes, as told by himself, affords a very fair illustration of the mode in which the lay "heretics" were dealt with in these times; and of the resolution with which they stood up for their opinions. It is held that this young man was "in his conduct and carriage very unlike a humble Christian;" and that "within the rough exterior of the bishop [Bonner], there must have been something more or less resembling that

* Southey, "Book of the Church," vol. ii. p. 151.

† Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. iii. p. 332.

charity which is not easily provoked, nay, even suffereth long, and is kind. . . . It is not that the bishop let a forward young man say his say out, once or even twice, and then despatched him; but that after such a beginning, he had him on his hands for near a twelvemonth." * The reason that the bishop had this "forward young man" so long on his hands is left to be inferred. The law by which Bonner could have effectually "despatched him," did not come into operation till nineteen days before its efficacy was tried on Thomas Hawkes and three other Essex Protestants. He was apprehended because he would not suffer his child to be baptised according to the Romish ceremonies; and was sent to Bonner, to be used according to his discretion. At their very first conference the bishop asked him if he knew Knight and Pigot, the barber and the butcher. He is also asked if he knew one Bagot; and Bagot is called. The man, "not easily provoked," wishes Bagot to give his opinion upon the refusal of Hawkes to have his child christened; upon which Bagot says that Hawkes is old enough to answer for himself. "Ah! sir knave," says the bishop, "are you at that point with me? Go call me the porter. Thou shalt sit in the stocks, and have nothing but bread and water." Having terrified Bagot into saying that baptism, as then practised in the church, was good, he sent Hawkes to dine at the steward's table. Conversation after conversation occur between the bishop and his prisoner; and the end of their contests is, that he who "suffereth long, and is kind," says, "Sir, it is time to begin with you. We will rid you away, and then we shall have one heretic less." On another occasion, the candid bishop says, "Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you." Bold enough, insolent enough, if you please, was this young Thomas Hawkes; but his "conduct and carriage" were those arising out of a conscientious resistance to a power which he knew would destroy him. The "conduct and carriage" of the proud man in authority were those which exhibit the impotence of tyranny even in its most sanguinary resolves. Hawkes refused to sign the petition which Bonner had drawn up.

"Then the bishop thrust me on the breast with great anger; and said he would be even with me, and with all such proud knaves in Essex.

"*Hawkes.* 'Ye shall do no more than God shall give you leave.'

"*Bonner.* 'This gear shall not be unpunished—trust to it.'

"*Hawkes.* 'As for your cursings, railings, and blasphemings, I care not for them; for I know the moths and worms shall eat you, as they eat cloth or wool.'

"*Bonner.* 'I will be even with you when time shall come.'

The time did come; for on the 9th of February, Bonner read the sentence of death upon Thomas Hawkes.

In looking back upon the awful transactions of this time of persecution, let us not form too severe a judgment of the evil deeds of our erring forefathers. It was not a time when the rights of conscience, looking beyond the opinions of the alternately dominant creeds, could be adequately acknowledged by Roman Catholic or Protestant. The broad foundation upon which to establish those rights was undoubtedly laid in the principles of the Reformation.

* Dr. Maitland, "Essays," p. 495.

But it has required the struggles of three centuries to make these rights a living rule of charitable action, even in secular legislation. Other disturbing influences were to arise, out of which were to grow many a severe contest between the ruling powers in church and state, and the sacred claims of private judgment. At this worst period in England of triumphant persecution against those who were called heretics, the very heretics themselves were ready to become persecutors. Philpot, "the best-born gentleman" of Fuller, had declared that he would confound any six of his adversaries upon the question of transubstantiation, and if not, he said, "let me be burnt before the court gates with as many fagots as be in London." When examined before Bonner, he had told him, in the true spirit of toleration, using the words of St. Ambrose to Valentinian, "Take away the law, and I shall reason with you." There could be no equal reasoning, when the renewed statutes for punishing heretics with death were written over the judgment-seat of the examiner. But Philpot himself was ready to become a persecutor when the case lay between his own opinions, and those which Catholic and Protestant had agreed in condemning. Courageous, enthusiastic, in the assertion of his principles, the martyr Philpot had no respect for those who went further than he did in asserting what they held to be truth. He published a vindication of himself for an action which was scarcely compatible with the character even of the "best-born gentleman." He had spat upon an Arian. Does he apologise for an act of passion when his conscience was offended by what he considered the enunciation of a creed which he held was damnable and wicked? He says, with perfect honesty, but in a spirit which may induce us to judge not too harshly of those who asserted their convictions even with cruelty, "Should not the mouth declare the zeal for his Maker, by spittings on him that depraveth his Divine Majesty? . . . I tell thee plain that I am nothing ashamed of that fact, but give God thanks that I bear evil for well-doing." He denounces as heretics, all "such as break the unity of Christ's church, neither abide in the same, neither submit their judgment to be tried in the causes which they brabble for, by the godly learned pastors thereof." * Surely this self-reliance is an apology for those who also relied upon "the unity of Christ's church," as maintained by their own doctrines and ceremonies. Such was the temper of Calvin, when, in 1546, he thus declares his hatred of what he calls "the delirious fancies" of Servetus: "He takes it upon him to come hither, if it be agreeable to me. But I am unwilling to pledge my word for his safety; for if he shall come, I shall never permit him to depart alive, provided my authority be of any avail." † Let us bear in mind how long a time of probation is required, before individual fidelity to a strong religious conviction can be united with respect for adverse opinions; how long before love shall prevail over zeal, and the essential agreements of the spiritual life be more regarded than the doctrinal differences. Let us bear this in mind, even when we view the conduct of a Bonner, "whom all generations shall call bloody," ‡ according to the judgment of an honest man in his generation; but who it would better become us in our day to pity than to vituperate, if we cannot forbear, as we

* Strype, vol. iii. part ii. p. 372.

† Letters of Calvin, by Bonnet, vol. ii.

‡ Fuller, "Church History," vol. ii. p. 343.

ought not to forbear, to hate cruelty and oppression in whatever form they present themselves.

The wickedness of the Marian persecution, regarding it with every allowance for the errors of those engaged in it, can only be exceeded by its folly. If the martyrdoms had been confined to the great leaders and teachers of the Reformation,—to those who exulted in its principles, and welcomed suffering and death as the crowning glory of their labours,—we may understand how the spirit of revenge might have obliterated the quality of mercy. Bonner said to Hawkes, “We will show such mercy unto you as ye showed unto us; for my benefice or bishopric was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live upon.” We see the vulgarity and meanness of Bonner’s mind in this avowal; and his ferocity is therefore intelligible when he has to deal with Ridley, who supplanted him in his bishopric. So of Gardiner, when he has to influence the fate of his old opponent Cranmer. But that a government, knowing well that the elements of public hatred were surrounding it on every side—that a thousand martyrdoms could not change the secret opinions which had been the growth of nearly two centuries,—that a government politically and religiously obnoxious to many, should have chosen to hunt out the heretics from the most obscure recesses, is an example of that judicial blindness which precedes destruction. When we read in the sad history of these times, that the humblest of the people were called into the ecclesiastical courts, and, being required to make answers to certain questions, were condemned if judged heretical, we may ask what possible feeling could have been produced, other than the most intense hatred and disgust by such sacrifices of artificers and labourers and fishermen—when even the lowly housewife was dragged out of her cottage, upon the information of some spiteful neighbour? Those who would extenuate the practices of these times, as the fashion now is, would do well to study the public acts of the government of Mary, rather than prove that she was kind to her dependants; that she loved her husband; that she was conscientiously pious and charitable; that she had a sincerer nature than her sister Elizabeth. It is as a queen that she must be judged; and as a queen she went further to degrade and enslave England than any sovereign who ever sate upon England’s throne. There is such a document in existence as “An Order prescribed by the King and Queen to the Justices of the Peace,” dated March 26th, 1555, in which, after enjoining that “they must lay special weight upon those which be preachers and teachers of heresy, or procurers of secret meetings for that purpose,” we have this memorable direction: “They shall procure to have in every parish, or part of the shire, as near as may be, some one or more honest men secretly instructed, to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants amongst or about them.”* The justices of the peace, in some districts, were ready enough to bring such as “do lean to erroneous and heretical opinions” before the Ordinaries. But, as we learn by a royal letter dated the 24th of May, the bishops either refused to receive such persons, or dealt with them mercifully. Then the pious king and queen wrote to each bishop to admonish him that “when any such offenders shall be by the said justices of the peace brought unto you, ye do use your good

* Burnet, “Records,” No. 19.

wisdom and discretion, in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be, or else in proceeding against them, if they shall continue obstinate, according to the order of the laws.* Honour be to those justices and bishops in whose districts the old English spirit of honesty and freedom made the attempts to introduce the spy-system into every household recoil with hatred and contempt upon their originators. Many dioceses, especially the large ones of Lincoln, York, and Durham, were almost wholly exempt from these disgraces. The merciful and, we may say, politic dispositions of many bishops stood between those who read their English bibles in secret, and the bigotry that would have dragged them to sign articles against their consciences, or to burn. One more expedient was tried, to remedy the supineness of justices and ordinaries. In 1557 a commission was issued to the bishops of London and Ely, with other ecclesiastics and many laymen, by which any three were empowered to search after all heresies, and the sellers and readers of heretical books; to examine and punish all misbehaviour and negligences in church or chapel; to try all priests that did not preach of the sacrament of the altar, and all persons that did not hear mass, or did not go in procession, or did not take holy bread or holy water. They were to call before them what witnesses they pleased, and compel them to swear, so as to discover the heresies and offences thus to be hunted out.† “So now,” says Burnet, “all was done that could be devised for the extirpation of heresy, except Courts of Inquisition had been set up; to which, whether this was not a previous step to dispose the nation to it, the reader may judge.”‡

We have endeavoured, without dwelling too minutely upon the horrors of this frightful time, to lead the reader to understand how that temper was roused in the English nation, which produced an abhorrence to the Roman Catholic religion, “to be derived down from father to son”—“an aversion so deeply rooted, and raised upon such grounds, as does upon every new provocation or jealousy of returning to it, break out in most violent and convulsive symptoms.” So wrote Burnet in the time of Charles II. So may we still write, when the “jealousy of returning to it” is excited by indiscretions which proceed from a singular ignorance of the character of the English nation. Let us conclude this painful narrative with a brief view of the final triumphs of the three most eminent of the sufferers.

From the 28th of April, 1554, when Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, had been condemned as obstinate heretics, they had remained in prison in Oxford. In September, 1555, a court was held under the papal authority at Oxford, for what was called their trial. Ridley and Latimer were brought before the commissioners, the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, to answer to certain articles. The next day, a solemn session was held at St. Mary’s church—solemn as far as thrones and cloth of tissue could impart solemnity to a proceeding which was a mockery of justice, in refusing to hear the accused. They had only to hear the sentence pronounced; to be degraded; to be burnt. The place of their execution is now distinguished by what is called “the Martyrs’ Memorial.” No monument is necessary to commemorate an event which will be remembered, through the power of a few thrilling words, as long as

* Burnet, “Records,” No. 20.

† *Ibid.*, No. 32.

‡ “History of the Reformation,” part ii. book ii. p. 347.

the English language shall endure. Stripped of his prison dress, the aged Latimer—the bent old man, “stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.” He stands, bolt upright, in his shroud. Ridley and he “stand coupled for a common flight;” and he says, “Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man! We shall this day light such a candle, by God’s grace, in England, as shall never be put out.”

When Cranmer came before the commissioners, he was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days, there to answer the charges against him. This was one of the mockeries of the papal rule in England. There were prison-walls between the archbishop and Rome, and at the end of the time he was declared contumacious. Bonner and Thirlby were appointed to degrade him. Bonner was brutal; Thirlby wept. The courage of Cranmer was never very strong. He had made too many compromises in life not to be tempted into one more compliance



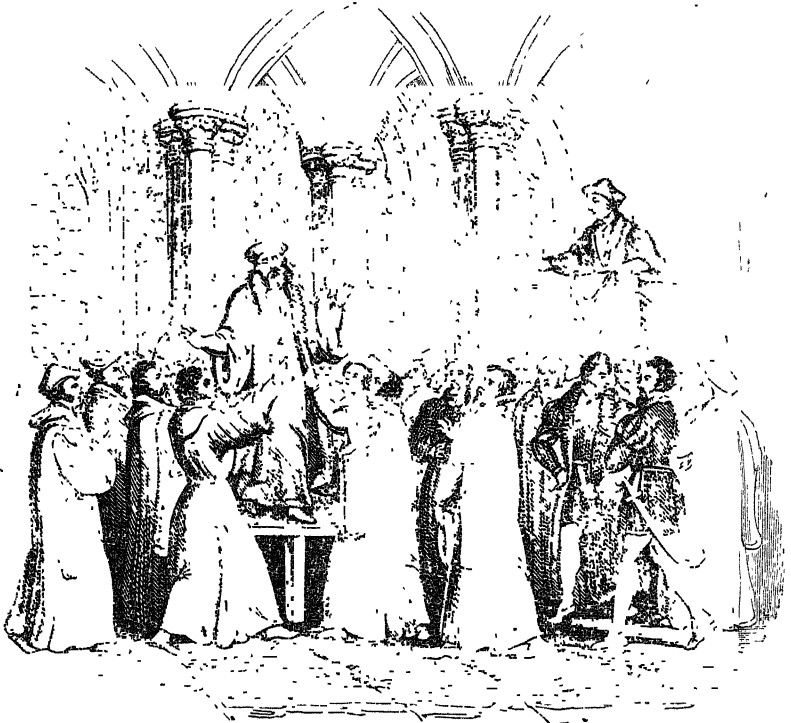
Latimer.

with firmer wills, when a hope was offered to him that he might quietly descend into the grave, at the natural expiration of his allotted years. He signed papers of recantation, under these false promises. The hateful betrayers thought by this cruel policy, to make the great leader of the Reformation die a cowardly apostate. They were deceived. A better spirit—an inspiration—came over the fallen man—to make his final glory even greater from his temporary abasement. There can be no question of the authenticity of the narrative of his last end, for it was drawn up by a Romanist; and the original document is amongst the Harleian Manuscripts, headed, “Archbishop Cranmer’s death, related by a by-stander.” On the 21st of March, the morning being rainy, the sermon, which was appointed to be preached at the stake, was preached in St. Mary’s church. Cranmer having heard the sermon, in which he was reminded of his wretched estate—“of a counsellor to be a caitiff,” knelt down and prayed—the men of the university praying with him; “for they that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion.” After that he prayed aloud; and then addressed an exhortation, to care not over much for the world; to obey the king and queen; to love one another; to be good to the poor. He then declared that he believed in God; in every article of the Catholic faith; and every word and sentence taught by our Saviour, his apostles, and prophets, in the Old and New Testament. The conclusion of his exhortation was a startling one:

“And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life: and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth. Which here now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it

might be : and that is, all such bills which I have written or signed with mine own hand, since my degradation : wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished therefore : for if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine."

"And here being admonished of his recantation and dissembling, he said, 'Alas, my lord, I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth ; which I am most sorry for.' He added



Cranmer, on the morning of his execution.

hereunto, that, for the sacrament, he believed as he had taught in his book against the bishop of Winchester. And here he was suffered to speak no more."

"He so far deceived all men's expectations, that, at the hearing thereof they were much amazed." He was led away, "great numbers exhorting him, while time was, to remember himself." He did remember himself; and thus vindicated his character, for the love and pity of all after-time :

"Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, he put off his garments with haste, and stood upright in his shirt : and a bachelor of divinity, named Elye, of Brazennose College, laboured to convert him to his former recantation, with the two Spanish friars. And when the friars saw

his constancy, they said in Latin one to another, Let us go from him; we ought not to be nigh him, for the devil is with him. But the bachelor in divinity was more earnest with him; unto whom he answered, that, as concerning his recantation, he repented it right sore, because he knew it was against the truth; with other words more. Whereby the lord Williams cried, 'Make short, make short.' Then the bishop took certain of his friends by the hand. But the bachelor of divinity refused to take him by the hand, and blamed all others that so did, and said, he was sorry that ever he came in his company. And yet, again, he required him to agree to his former recantation. And the bishop answered, showing his hand, 'This was the hand that wrote it, and therefore shall it suffer first punishment.'

"Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space, before the fire came to any other part of his body; where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended.' As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while."



Costume of the reign of Edward VI and Mary.

CHAPTER VII.

Sights and events in London in the first year of the persecution—King Philip leaves England—Abdication of Charles V.—Parliament—Pope Paul IV.—The Dudley Conspiracy—The princess Elizabeth again suspected—Pole consecrated archbishop of Canterbury—Visitation of the Universities—Exhibitions of bigotry—Philip returns to England—Quarrel of the Pope with Spain, and his alliance with France—Philip urges a declaration of war against France—Stafford's seizure of Scarborough Castle—English forces sent to the Flemish frontier—Battle of St. Quentin—Hostilities between England and Scotland—Calais taken by the French—Guines surrendered, and Hammes evacuated—The war ill-conducted—Interview of Philip's ambassador with Elizabeth—Death of Mary.

THERE is no more curious record of the outward life of London in these fearful times than "The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor." Let us glance at the jottings-down of the sights beheld, and the events gossiped about, by this dweller near Queenhithe, for a few months of 1555, to obtain a notion of the strange scenes which were then exhibited. On the 30th of April, tidings came that the queen was delivered of a prince; and the bells were rung in every steeple, and *Te Deum* sung in every choir. The intense desire of the queen for an heir to the throne was the repeated source of ridiculous rumours, not confined to the gaping Londoners, but solemnly transmitted to the emperor, as the crowning joy of the marriage of his son. On the 5th of May, the ambassador to Charles V. writes home that the emperor had sent for him at four o'clock in the morning, to know if the news were true.* Machyn's record tells of the disappointed hope in few words.. "The morrow after, it was turned otherwise." The Whitsun season

* Tytler, vol. ii. p. 470.

brings various amusements. Master Cardmaker, the vicar of St. Bride's, with an upholsterer and his wife, are burnt at Smithfield. The Clerks go in procession; and a goodly mass is performed; and the waits are playing round Cheap, and the host is borne about by torch-light. There are May games at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and at Westminster, with giants and morris-dancers, and the hobby-horse, and the lord and lady of the May riding gorgeously. In a day or two after, seven men are taken out of Newgate, to be carried to Essex and Suffolk, to burn; and on the 1st of July, Master Bradford and a tallow-chandler's apprentice are burnt in Smithfield, with a great company of people. With an occasional burning to keep the multitude in remembrance of their blessings, the summer passes; and on the 15th of September the pope's jubilee and pardon are declared at St. Paul's, "and as many as will receive his pardon, to be shrived and fast three days in one week, and to receive the blessed sacrament the next Sunday after, and then clean remission of all their sins." In November, the Romish ceremonies burst forth in unusual splendour, upon the occasion of the death of Gardiner, chancellor and bishop of Winchester; when there are dirges in every parish, and the mass of *requiem*, "and so prayed for after the old custom." The great burnings at Oxford have preceded the death of the chancellor, and Bonner does not immediately honour his memory by any exhibitions in Smithfield. But "a stripling" is whipt about Paul's Cross, "for speaking against the bishop that preached the Sunday before;" and "an old man, a shepherd," who spoke certain things before the sermon at the Cross, is taken to the Counter. There was a delay of three months before Gardiner was carried to his final resting-place at Winchester; and whilst his embalmed body lay in a hearse at St. Mary's Overies, five men and two women went into Smithfield to burn; and there was a commandment through London over night, that "no young folk should come there." The Christian duty of putting men and women to a cruel death for their opinions was too subtle to be properly impressed upon tender minds, by the bonfire lighting up the gabled roofs on a dark January morning.

It is recorded in the citizen's diary that on the 29th of August, "the king's grace took his journey toward Dover, and with a great company; and there tarried for the wind." Philip reached Calais on the 4th of September. His sojourn in England had not been an agreeable one to him. The parliament would not consent to his being crowned as king of England. He was obnoxious to the people; although he conducted himself with an evident desire not to offend by unnecessary interference with the ordinary course of government, and by keeping his haughty nature under control. He maintained his state without being a burthen upon the English revenue; and scattered his money with a liberal hand. "With all this," says Micheli, "he cannot live with dignity in this country, on account of the insolence with which foreigners are treated by the English." Mary wept over his departure, but was somewhat consoled by his promise to return in the spring. He returned not to England till March, 1557. When the sickly and irritable queen expected her husband, and received only his excuses, she would shut herself up in her room, and see no one for days. On one occasion, according to a document dated March 26th, 1556, "the queen, on hearing that the king would not return to England for a long time, was in a rage, and caused

his picture to be carried out of the Privy Chamber." * Philip was called to a destiny more suited to his proud and ambitious nature than to be the unequal partaker of sovereign power over a jealous insular people. He was summoned to become the head of the greatest European monarchy, by the voluntary abdication of his father. Charles had been sovereign of the Netherlands for nearly fifty years; he had been king of Spain for forty years; he had been emperor of Germany for thirty-six years. On the 25th of October, 1555, Charles, in a solemn assembly at Brussels, although only in his fifty-sixth year, and in full possession of his faculties, resigned the sceptres of the Netherlands and of Spain in favour of his son. He had already bestowed upon Philip the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. In a monastery of Estremadura, the greatest prince of his time was to close his long career of ambition. His "cloister life" offers a curious study of human nature.

It has been pointed out that Philip, when he had left England, and the prospect of a child who should succeed to the English crown had become visionary, did not disregard "the affairs of a turbulent people, upon whom he had no hold but the slight thread of a hypochondriacal woman." The opinion of his neglect which Mackintosh expressed is disproved by communications between the privy council and the king. The minutes of the council were translated into Latin, and transmitted to him at Brussels, and were returned with his remarks, also in Latin. His notions of the functions of parliament, as expressed in one of these papers, show how well it was for the civil as well as religious liberty of our country that his influence and authority here were soon at an end. He "desires that nothing should be proposed in parliament without its having been first communicated to his majesty." † Better was it for us that the bigoted Romanist should be free to preside at *auto-da-fés* in Spain, rather than dictate laws to England through the subservient Council of his confiding wife. The absence of Philip from England probably caused the parliament, which assembled on the 21st of October, 1555, to dare some opposition to the proceedings of the crown. Sir Anthony Kingston was imprisoned by the Council for his conduct as a member of the House of Commons. Although the parliament of England had crouched at the feet of Rome, and the supremacy of the pope was established, there were certain limits beyond which the most strenuous Romanists were not willing to go. Under a pontiff of moderate views, Julius III., the restitution of the church property was not insisted upon; and the success of Cardinal Pole's measures had been mainly accomplished by his concessions to those possessors of the abbey-lands and chantry revenues who were not disposed to show their aversion to the Reformation by any great sacrifice of their own interests. The queen had manifested her strong convictions by placing in the hands of the legate such church lands as remained in the possession of the crown. But in 1555 Julius III. was succeeded by Paul IV. "It was the destiny of this most furious zealot to contribute more perhaps than any of his predecessors to the spread of that protestantism which he hated, abhorred, and persecuted." ‡ At the period of his accession he had not exhibited those passionate resolves for the

* "Calendar of State Papers," p. 77.

† Tytler, vol. ii. p. 484.

‡ Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 817.

re-establishment of the temporal dominion of the see of Rome, which brought him into a posture of hostility to Philip of Spain. But he endeavoured most unwisely to assert his spiritual supremacy, by proclaiming, to the English ambassadors, "the restitution of the lands of the church to be an indispensable duty, the neglect of which would draw upon the culprit the penalty of eternal damnation. He also tried to re-establish the collection of the Peter's pence."* Mary was herself ready to yield to the first thunders of the Vatican; and caused some of the lay-nobility to be sounded upon this very delicate question. The answer was, "that they would never part with their abbey-lands, as long as they were able to wear a sword by their sides."† An Act was however passed, not without strong opposition, to restore the tenths and first-fruits to the church; and the impropriations in the queen's gift. This Act had many saving clauses; and one especially, that the legate should apply the revenues so restored to the increase of poor livings; for the finding of able curates to instruct the people; and for the exhibition of scholars. A proposal to give the queen a subsidy and two-fifteenths was so strenuously opposed, that the secretary of state declared to the House of Commons that her majesty would only accept the subsidy. There was no other parliament held for two years.

The disquietudes and suspicions which were associated with the fact that, however prudent was the princess Elizabeth, she was the hope of those both abroad and at home who were oppressed by the bigotry of the government, were kept alive by the most trifling incidents. Dr. John Dee, an astrologer and magician, who went on casting nativities, and raising spirits, till the days of James I., had come into repute in the middle of the sixteenth century; and he got into trouble, according to his own account, through being suspected of "endeavouring, by enchantments, to destroy queen Mary." In June, 1555, some persons were apprehended "that did calculate the king's and queen's, and my lady Elizabeth's nativity; whereof one Dee, and Davy, and Butler, and one other of my lady Elizabeth's, are accused, and that they should have a familiar spirit."‡ The familiar spirit was believed in, because one of their accusers had "immediately upon the accusation, both his children stricken, the one with present death, the other with blindness." But there was a danger gathering, somewhat more formidable than the conjurations of Dee and his associates. Some young men of good family had conceived the project of



Dee.

* Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 318.

† Letter in State Paper Office; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 479.

‡ Heylin.

assembling together the English exiles of Germany and other parts of the continent, to free England from the Roman pontiff and the Spanish king. Mary was to be sent to Spain; and Elizabeth placed on the throne. The chief leader was Henry Dudley, supposed to have been connected by relationship with the duke of Northumberland who had paid the price of his rash ambition. His notion was, to organise those whom Mary called heretics and traitors; and to land them in the Isle of Wight. He would drive out the Spaniards, he said, or he would die for it. He had obtained some encouragement from the French ambassador in London; and had been courteously received by the French king. But although Richard Uvedale, the captain of Yarmouth castle, in the Isle of Wight, had agreed not to molest their landing, there was little hope of transforming into armed bands the serious and aged religious exiles, even if they had countenanced any attempts to change the government by force. They were mostly suffering extreme poverty. Money was to be got to raise soldiers; and a bold device was set on foot, which none but the most sanguine of men would have ventured upon. In the office of the receipt of Exchequer at Westminster, there were bars of Spanish silver lying idle in chests, to the value of 50,000*l*. William Rossey, keeper of the Star Chamber, lived near this office; and had a garden running along the margin of the Thames. Three of the conspirators were enabled to obtain access to these precious chests. They were too heavy to be removed; and they were therefore to be broken open, and the bars carried through Rossey's garden, to a vessel which was to be brought up alongside. The ship was hired; the searcher at Gravesend was bribed to let it pass; and the "great bullion robbery" might have been accomplished, had not Thomas White, one of the company, revealed the scheme to the government. On the 18th of March, 1556, about twenty of the accused were conveyed to the Tower. There were persons of good family among them who had opposed the measures of the court in the preceding parliament. Throgmorton, a connexion of the man whose acquittal had made him famous, and Uvedale, were first tried. They were convicted; and suffered the death of traitors on the 28th of April. Eight others were executed in May, June, and July. Lord Bray was confined many months on suspicion; but was finally released. Others were pardoned. Mr. Bruce, who has related with great spirit the history of this plot, upon which most historians are silent, says that the ease with which some who were the queen's officers were "seduced from their allegiance, must have added to the many evidences of how slight was the queen's hold upon the affections of the people." * It was the misfortune of the princess Elizabeth, although a natural consequence of her position, to afford cause of jealousy and suspicion to the court, upon the discovery of any treasonable conspiracy. All that could be established against lord Bray was that he had said, "If my neighbour of Hatfield might once reign (meaning the lady Elizabeth), he should have his lands and debts given him again, which he both wished for, and trusted once to see." Elizabeth was again questioned by an agent of the Council, and was written to by her sister; "whereat she wrote a well-penned letter," dated the beginning of August, utterly detesting and disclaiming the rebellion and its actors.†

* Verney Papers, p. 58 to 76.

† Styrpe, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. iii. part i. p. 547.

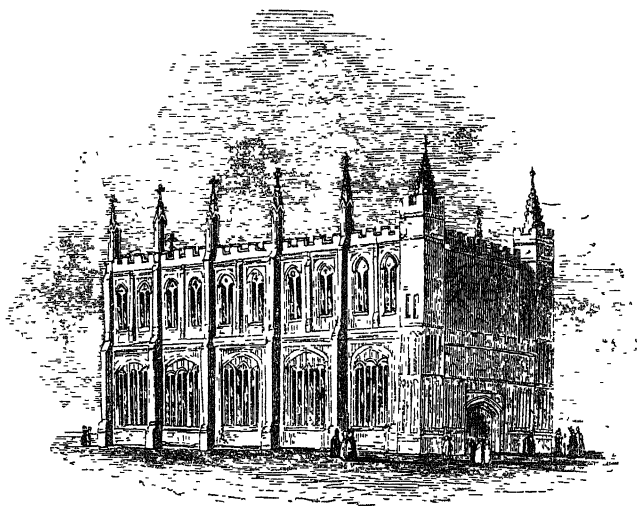
Strype has printed Elizabeth's "well-penned letter"—a curious specimen of her rhetorical style, of which one sentence will suffice. "And among earthly things, I chiefly wish this one, that there were as good surgeons for making anatomies of hearts, that might show my thoughts to your majesty, as there are expert physicians of the bodies, able to express the inward griefs of their maladies to their patient. For then, I doubt not, but know well, that whatsoever other should suggest by malice, yet your majesty should be sure by knowledge; so that the more such misty clouds offuscate the clear light of my truth, the more my tried thoughts should glisten to the dimming of their hidden malice. But since wishes are in vain, and desires oft fail, I must crave that my deeds may supply that my thoughts cannot declare, and that they be not misdeemed, whereas the facts have been so well tried." Elizabeth's handwriting was as characteristic as her style.

*Think your
Country your home', the'm inhabitants
your neighbours, all freinds your
children, and your children your
own Sowli endeavouring to surpass
all these' in liberality and good
nature'.*

Fac-simile from Elizabeth's Translation of a Dialogue in Xenophon.

The day after the murder of Cranmer, cardinal Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; and he then assumed the public functions of the papal legate. He was a man of too much moderation to suit the temper of the furious Paul IV., who subsequently attempted to supersede him as legate, which attempt Mary had the spirit to resist. But he either wanted the inclination or the power to control the extravagant bigotry of the English universities, whose authorities, in 1551, perpetrated deeds that show how little learning is akin to wisdom, when it associates itself with superstitions that outrage the natural feelings of mankind. At the period when two new colleges were founded in Oxford,—Trinity by sir Thomas Pope, and St. John's by sir Thomas White,—that university was visited by the commissioners of the cardinal; who not only burnt all the English bibles and other heretical books, but went through the farce of making a process against the body of Peter Martyr's wife, who had been buried in one of the churches. They could find no witnesses who had heard her utter any heresies, for she could speak no English. So, under

the direction of the cardinal, they transferred her body to a dunghill, upon the plea that she had been a nun and had died excommunicated. A scene equally disgusting was perpetrated by Pole's commissioners at Cambridge. They laid the churches of St. Mary's and St. Michael's under interdict, because the bodies of the great reformers, Bucer and Fagius, were buried in them. The dead were then cited to appear ; but not answering to the sum-



Divinity Schools, Oxford, in the Sixteenth Century.

mons, they were judged to be obstinate heretics, and their bodies were to be taken out of their graves, and delivered to the secular power. On the 6th of February, these bodies were publicly burnt, according to the ancient ceremonies, which Rome had found so effectual in the case of Wycliffe.

In March, 1557, Philip returned to England. He came, not out of affection for his wife, or of regard for his turbulent insular subjects, but to stir up the old English hatred of France, and to drag the nation into a war for his personal advantage. The fiery pope, Paul IV., had conceived that the time had arrived for renewing the attempt of Julius II. to throw off the predominant power of Spain. He panted for the freedom of Italy as it existed in the fifteenth century ; he wanted to accomplish his wishes by an alliance with France ; he would place French princes on the thrones of Milan and Naples. The Spaniards he pronounced as the spawn of Jews and Moors, the dregs of the earth. When there was a question of temporal dominion to be fought out, the pope did not hesitate to wage war against that faithful son of the church, king Philip ; nor did king Philip hesitate to send the duke of Alva, the exterminator of Protestants, to enter the Roman states, and lay waste the territories of the pope. France and Spain were upon the brink of open war when Philip arrived in England. He urged a declaration of war against France. There were grievances in the alleged encouragement which had been given in Wyatt's rebellion ; and in the lukewarmness with which Henry II.

met queen Mary's desire that he should afford her the means of vengeance upon the exiles for religion who took shelter in France. The most recent complaint was, that France had connived at the equipment of a force by Thomas Stafford, a refugee, who had invaded England with thirty-two followers, and had surprised Scarborough castle. This adventurer claimed to be of the house and blood of the duke of Buckingham, who was beheaded in the time of Henry VIII. The proclamation which he issued from his castle of Scarborough, which he held only two days, was addressed to the English hatred of the Spaniards, rather than directed against the ecclesiastical persecution under which the country was suffering: "As the dukes of Buckingham, our forefathers and predecessors, have always been defenders of the poor commonalty against the tyranny of princes, so should you have us at this juncture, most dearly beloved friends, your protector, governor, and defender against all your adversaries and enemies; minding earnestly to die rather, presently, and personally before you in the field, than to suffer you to be overrun so miserably with strangers, and made most sorrowful slaves, and careful captives, to such a naughty nation as Spaniards." * Stafford and his band were soon made prisoners; and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, and three of his followers hanged, on the 25th of May. Seizing upon this absurd attempt as a ground of quarrel, war was declared against France on the 7th of June; and Philip quitted the country on the 6th of July, never to return.

An English force of four thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry, and two thousand pioneers, joined the Spanish army on the Flemish frontier. That army was partly composed of German mercenaries; the lanzknechts and reiters, the pikemen and cavalry, who, at the command of the best paymaster, were the most formidable soldiers of the time. But the Spanish cavaliers were there, leading their native infantry; and there the Burgundian lances. The army was commanded by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, who had aspired to the hand of Elizabeth. Philip earnestly seconded his suit, but Mary, wisely and kindly, would not put a constraint upon her sister's inclinations. The wary princess saw that the crown would probably be hers at no distant day; and she would not risk the loss of the people's affection by marrying a foreign Catholic. She had sensible advisers about her, who seconded her own prudence; and thus she kept safe amidst the manifold dangers by which she was surrounded. The duke of Savoy, though young, was an experienced soldier, and he determined to commence the campaign by investing St. Quentin, a frontier town of Picardy. The defence of this fortress was undertaken by Coligni, the admiral of France, afterwards so famous for his mournful death. Montmorency, the constable, had the command of the French army. The garrison was almost reduced to extremity—when Montmorency, on the 10th of August, arrived with his whole force, and halted on the bank of the Somme. On the opposite bank lay the Spanish, the English, the Flemish, and the German host. The arrival of the French was a surprise, and the duke of Savoy had to take up a new position. He determined on battle. The issue was the most unfortunate for France since the fatal day of Agincourt. The French slain amounted, according to some accounts, to six thousand; and the prisoners were equally numerous. Amongst

* Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. ii. part ii. p. 513.

them was the veteran Montmorency. On the 10th of August, Philip came to the camp. Bold advisers counselled a march to Paris. The cautious king was satisfied to press on the siege of St. Quentin. The defence which Coligni made was such as might have been expected from his firmness and bravery. The place was taken by storm, amidst horrors which belong to such scenes at all times, but which were doubled by the rapacity of troops who fought even with each other for the greatest share of the pillage. After a few trifling successes, the army of Philip was broken up. The English and Germans were indignant at the insolence of the Spaniards; and the Germans were more indignant that their pay was not forthcoming. Philip was glad to permit his English subjects to take their discontents home. They had found out that they were not fighting the battle of England.

The war between England and France produced hostilities between England and Scotland. Mary of Guise, the queen dowager and regent of Scotland, was incited by the French king to invade England. The disposition to hostilities was accompanied by a furious outbreak of the Scottish borderers. They were driven back. But the desire of the queen dowager that England should be invaded was resisted by the chief nobles, who declared themselves ready to act on the defensive, but who would not plunge into war during their sovereign's minority. The alliance of France and Scotland was, however, completed, in the autumn of 1558, by the marriage between the Dauphin and the young queen Mary, which was solemnised at Paris, in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The duke of Guise, the uncle of the queen of Scots, at the beginning of 1558, was at the head of a powerful army to avenge the misfortune of St. Quentin. The project committed to his execution was a bold and patriotic one—to drive the English from their last strong-hold in France. Calais, over whose walls a foreign flag had been waving for two centuries, was to France an opprobrium, and to England a trophy. But it was considered by the English government as an indispensable key to the continent—a possession that it would not only be a disgrace to lose, but a national calamity. The importance of Calais was thus described by Micheli, the Venetian ambassador, only one year before it finally passed from the English power:

“Another frontier, besides that of Scotland, and of no less importance for the security of the kingdom, though it be separated, is that which the English occupy on the other side of the sea, by means of two fortresses, Calais and Guisnes, guarded by them (and justly) with jealousy, especially Calais, for this is the key and principal entrance to their dominions, without which the English would have no outlet from their own, nor access to other countries, at least none so easy, so short, and so secure; so much so, that if they were deprived of it, they would not only be shut out from the continent, but also from the commerce and intercourse of the world. They would consequently lose what is essentially necessary for the existence of a country, and become dependent upon the will and pleasure of other sovereigns, in availing themselves of their ports, besides having to encounter a more distant, more hazardous, and more expensive passage; whereas, by way of Calais, which is directly opposite to the harbour of Dover, distant only about thirty miles, they can, at any time, without hindrance, even in spite of contrary winds, at their pleasure, enter or leave the harbour (such is the experience and boldness of their sailors), and carry over either troops or anything else for warfare,

offensive and defensive, without giving rise to jealousy and suspicion; and thus they are enabled, as Calais is not more than ten miles from Ardres, the frontier of the French, nor further from Gravelines, the frontier of the Imperialists, to join either the one or the other, as they please, and to add their strength to him with whom they are at amity, in prejudice of an enemy. For these reasons, therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that, besides the inhabitants of the place, who are esteemed men of most unshaken fidelity, being the descendants of an English colony settled there shortly after the first conquest, it should also be guarded by one of the most trusty barons which the king has, bearing the title of deputy, with a force of five hundred of the best soldiers, besides a troop of fifty horsemen. It is considered by every one as an impregnable fortress, on account of the inundation with which it may be surrounded, although there are persons skilled in the art of fortification, who doubt that it would prove so if put to the test. For the same reason, Guisnes is also reckoned impregnable, situated about three miles more inland, on the French frontier, and guarded with the same degree of care, though, being a smaller place, only by a hundred and fifty men, under a chief governor. The same is done with regard to a third place, called Hammes, situated between the two former, and thought to be of equal importance, the waters which inundate the country being collected around.* Ninety years later Calais was regarded in a very different light: "Now it is gone, let it go. It was but a beggarly town, which cost England ten times yearly more than it was worth in keeping thereof, as by the accounts in the Exchequer doth plainly appear."†

The expedition against Calais was undertaken upon a report of the dilapidated condition of the works and the smallness of its garrison. It was not "an impregnable fortress," as Micheli says it was considered. The duke of Guise commenced his attack on the 2nd of January, when he stormed and took the castle of Ruysbank, which commanded the approach by water. On the 3rd he carried the castle of Newenham bridge, which commanded the approach by land. He then commenced a cannonade of the citadel, which surrendered on the 6th. On the 7th the town capitulated. Lord Wentworth, the governor, and fifty others, remained as prisoners. The English inhabitants, about four thousand, were ejected from the home which they had so long colonised, but without any exercise of cruelty. "The Frenchmen," say the chroniclers, "entered and possessed the town; and forthwith all the men, women, and children were commanded to leave their houses, and to go to certain places appointed for them to remain in, till order might be taken for their sending away. The places thus appointed for them to remain in were chiefly four, the two churches of Our Lady and St. Nicholas, the deputy's house, and the stable, where they rested a great part of that day, and one whole night, and the next day till 3 o'clock at afternoon, without either meat or drink. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the duke of Guise, in the name of the French king, in their hearing made a proclamation, charging all and every person that were inhabitants of the town of Calais, having about them any money, plate, or jewels to the value

* Ellis, "Original Letters," Second Series, vol. ii.

† Fuller, "Church History," book viii.

of one groat, to bring the same forthwith, and lay it down upon the high altars of the said churches, upon pain of death; bearing them in hand also that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation, there was made a great and sorrowful offertory. And while they were at this offertory within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasures; but especially of ordnance, armour, and other munitions. Thus dealt the French with the English, in lieu and recompence of the like usage to the French when the forces of king Philip prevailed at St. Quentin; where, not content with the honour of victory, the English in sacking the town sought nothing more than the satisfying of their greedy vein of covetousness, with an extreme neglect of all moderation."

Within the marches of Calais the English held the two small fortresses of Guisnes and Hammes. Guisnes was defended with obstinate courage by lord Grey, and did not surrender till the 20th of January. His loss amounted to eight hundred men. From Hammes the English garrison made their escape by night. In the midst of the national irritation at this great discomfiture, the parliament assembled on the 20th of January. The chief business was that of granting a subsidy to carry on the war against the French king and the Scots, who "daily do practise by all dishonourable ways and means, with the aid and power of all their confederates and allies, to annoy their majesties and this their realm, and other the dominions of the same; and by all likelihood, if opportunity of time and place so permit, do mind to make some invasion into sundry parts of this realm, as well upon the sea-coast as elsewhere."* The forces of the country were probably never in a less efficient state. The greater portion of the reign of Mary had been spent in persecution, and in the detection and punishment of conspirators. The nation was out of heart, thoroughly hating the Spanish alliance, and almost ready to welcome a French or Scottish invasion, if it were to drive out a weak and cruel government. If the administration of Scotland had been less divided in opinion, an army might have crossed the border with little chance of effectual resistance. The want of the material means of warfare appears perfectly ludicrous. There is a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury, the president of the Council of the North, dated October, 1557, in which the writer earnestly begs that ships laden with corn may be sent from Newcastle to Berwick, instead of carrying the corn by land, "which is impossible to do, for all the carriages between York and Newcastle, and all the sacks within twenty miles of Newcastle will not serve that turn."† The subsidy granted by the clergy and laity was employed in fitting out a fleet, to co-operate with a squadron of king Philip in laying waste the French coast. The English ships were under the command of the high admiral, lord Clinton. Their success, if success it could be called, was of the most paltry nature. The combined English and Flemish landed near the town of Conquet, having been destined for an attack upon Brest. After pillaging and burning small towns and villages they retreated to their ships, without attempting any exploit that would have influenced the fortune of the war. An English squadron, by a successful co-operation with the Spanish infantry at Gravelines, contributed to an important victory. But in

* 4 & 5 Philip & Mary, c. 11.

† Lodge, "Illustrations," vol. i. p. 284.

this short period of hostilities during the reign of Mary, there was nothing accomplished which could be held to redeem the disgrace of Calais. England had fallen. The time was near at hand when the world should see "a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking his invincible locks." *

In October 1558, the queen once more entertained the delusion that she should present her subjects with a successor to the throne. An ambassador arrived from Philip to offer his congratulations "on the best piece of news which he had received since his grief for the loss of Calais." When this ambassador, the count de Feria, saw Mary, he found her dying of the dropsy, with which she had been long afflicted. She was so ill, that it became necessary to discuss the question of the succession; and Mary showed no displeasure, but the contrary, when it was proposed that Elizabeth should be declared her successor.† The count de Feria, on the 10th of November, had an interview with Elizabeth. He brought a kind message from Philip; and he endeavoured to impress the princess with the belief that the declaration of her right to the crown was to be attributed to the good offices of the king, and not to Mary or her council. Elizabeth desired to acknowledge the kindness which she had received from Philip when she was in prison; but she declared that she owed her present position to the people. De Feria says, in his despatch, "It appears to me, that she is a woman of extreme vanity, but acute. I would say that she must have great admiration for the king her father's mode of carrying on matters. I fear much that in religion she will not go right, as I perceive her inclined to govern by men who are held to be heretics; and they tell me that the ladies who are most about her are all so. Besides this, she shows herself highly indignant at the things done against her in the lifetime of the queen. She is much attached to the people, and is very confident that they are all on her side (which is indeed true); indeed she gave me to understand that the people had placed her where she now is. On this point she will acknowledge no obligations either to your majesty or to her nobles, although she says they have one and all of them sent her their promise to remain faithful. Indeed there is not a heretic or traitor in all the country who has not started as if from the grave to seek her with expressions of the greatest pleasure." The ambassador adds some remarks upon those who were likely to be the favourites of Elizabeth: "I am told for certain that Cecil, who was secretary to king Edward, will be her secretary also. He has the character of a prudent and virtuous man, although a heretic." ‡

On the 7th of November queen Mary had sent for the speaker of the House of Commons, the parliament having assembled on the 5th, and informed him that conferences for peace between England, Spain, and France had been opened at Cambray. On the 17th the queen was no more. She is stated to have said, "When I die, Calais will be found written on my heart." The more terrible events of her reign—the persecutions which will ever be associated with her memory—were most probably not regarded by her either

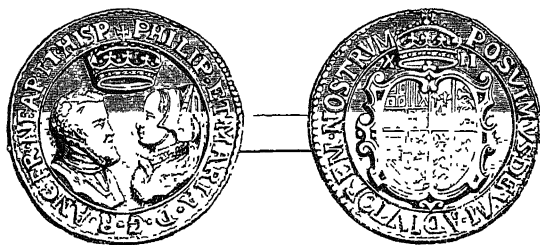
* Milton, "Areopagitica."

† Letter from a counsellor of Philip, in Gonzales' "Transactions of the Royal Historical Academy of Madrid." Tytler, vol. ii. p. 497.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

as calamities or crimes. Cardinal Pole only survived the queen twenty-four hours. Charles V. had, two months before, closed his career in a spirit of fanaticism which, although a cruel persecutor, he often kept under subjection to his policy. In a codicil to his will, the emperor conjures his son, most earnestly, by the obedience he owes him, to follow up and bring to justice every heretic in his dominions; and this without exception, and without favour or mercy to any one. He implores Philip to cherish the Holy Inquisition, as the best instrument for accomplishing this good work. "So," he concludes, "shall you have my blessing, and the Lord shall prosper all your undertakings." *

* Prescott, "Philip II.," book i. chap. ix.



Shilling of Philip and Mary



Great Seal of Queen Elizabeth.

CHAPTER VIII.

Elizabeth proclaimed queen—She refuses to attend Mass on Christmas-day—Philip proposes marriage to Elizabeth—The Commons request that she would marry—Her answer—The Coronation progress through the City—Cecil's plans for the restoration of Protestantism—Opening of Parliament—Statute for restoring the supremacy to the Crown—Statute for the Uniformity of Common Prayer—Deprivation of bishops—Peace with France—Pretensions of Mary Stuart—Elizabeth the head of the Protestant party of Europe—Scotland—Hostility of the queen-regent of Scotland to the Reformers—Their desire for an alliance with England—French troops sent to Scotland—England sends an army and fleet—Siege of Leith—Peace concluded at Edinburgh—Assembly of the parliament of Scotland—Acts establishing the reformed religion—Mary refuses to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh—Death of Francis II—Mary determines to return to Scotland—Elizabeth refuses her a safe conduct—Mary embarks at Calais—Arrival in Scotland—Contrasts in the fortunes of Mary and Elizabeth.

On the 17th of November, 1558, the day of her half-sister's death, Elizabeth was proclaimed queen by the Lords of the Council. It is a remarkable fact connected with the popularity of this reign, that the 17th of November was called "The Queen's Day," up to very recent times. Sir John Harrington has preserved the speech which she made to the council at her accession, in which she requires their assistance; "that I with my ruling, and you with your service, may make a good account to Almighty God, and leave some comfort to our posterity in earth." * Her speech to Cecil, from the same authority, is more characteristic:—"I give you this charge, that you shall be of my privy council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 56.

with any manner of gift, and that you will be faithful to the state, and that, without respect of my private will, you will give me that counsel that you think best: and if you shall know any thing necessary to be declared to me of secesy, you shall show it to myself only, and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein. And therefore, herewith I charge you."

The unanimity with which the accession of Elizabeth was received, even by the servants of the late queen, may be ascribed to the caution with which she concealed her intentions on the subject of religion. The release of all prisoners confined for religious opinions, which took place upon her entry into London on the 24th of November, might have been considered only as a politic act of grace. Her exception of Bonner to the cordial reception which she gave to the bishops might have passed without any marked inference. But on the Christmas-day there was an occurrence which could not be mistaken, as far as regarded the queen's personal opinions. It is thus related, in a letter of sir William Fitzwilliam:—"This night I came home late from London; and for news you shall understand that yesterday, being Christmas-day, the queen's majesty repaired to her great closet with her nobles and ladies as hath been accustomed in such high feasts; and she passing a bishop preparing himself to mass, all in the old form, she tarried there until the Gospel was done; and when all the people looked for her to have offered according to the old fashion, she with her nobles returned again from the closet and the mass unto her privy chamber, which was strange unto divers."* The refusal to hear mass was followed, two days after, by a proclamation forbidding the elevation of the Host, and all unlicensed preaching. It was also ordered that the Gospels and Epistles, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Litany, should be used in English.

According to the custom of sovereign princes Elizabeth despatched messengers to the various European courts announcing her accession. Amongst these the pope was included. There can be little doubt that the queen and her ministers desired to temporise, in some degree. The arrogant Paul IV. replied to Elizabeth's messenger, that it was great boldness in her to assume the crown without his consent, and that she must submit all her claims to his decision. Philip of Spain thought that the principles of Elizabeth were so unsettled, that she might consent to marry him, upon the condition that she should become Catholic. He proposed himself as her husband within a month after her accession. She received these proposals with great civility; and gave, at first, no decided refusal. Philip hoped to obtain a fairer bride than the wife he had lost. Elizabeth was thus described in 1557 by Micheli, the Venetian:—"The princess is as beautiful in mind as she is in body; though her countenance is rather pleasing from its expression, than beautiful. She is large and well-made; her complexion clear, and of an olive tint; her eyes are fine, and her hands, on which she prides herself, small and delicate. She has an excellent genius, with much address and self-command, as was abundantly shown in the severe trials to which she was exposed in the earlier part of her life. In her temper she is haughty and imperious, qualities inherited from her father, king Henry VIII.,

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 262.

who from her resemblance to himself, is said to have regarded her with peculiar fondness." Elizabeth told the ambassador of Philip that she could take no step without consulting her parliament. The two houses met on the 21st of January, six days after the queen's coronation. She had soon the opportunity of declaring her opinions on the subject of marriage. On the 10th of February the Commons waited upon her with an address that she would vouchsafe some match capable of supplying heirs to her royal virtues and dominions. Elizabeth's answer was as follows :—"The queen, after a sweet graced silence, with a princely countenance and voice, and with a gesture somewhat quick but not violent, returned answer, that she gave them great thanks (as she saw great cause) for the love and care which they did express as well towards her person as the whole state of the realm ; 'and first,' said she, 'for the manner of your petition, I like it well, and take it in good part, because it is simple, without any limitation, either of person or place. If it had been otherwise ; if you had taken upon you to confine, or rather to bind, my choice ; to draw my love to your likings ; to frame my affections according unto your fantasy ; I must have disliked it very much ; for as, generally, the will desireth not a larger liberty in any case than in this, so had it been a great presumption for you to direct, to limit, to command me herein, to whom you are bound in duty to obey. Concerning the substance of your suit, since my years of understanding, since I was first able to take consideration of myself, I have hitherto made choice of a single life, which hath best, I assure you, contented me, and, I trust, hath been most acceptable to God ; from which, if, either ambition or high estate, offered unto me by the pleasure and appointment of my prince, whereof I have some testimony in this place (as you our treasurer well do know) ; or, if avoiding the malice of my enemies, or the very danger of death itself, whose messenger, or rather continual watchman, the prince's indignation, was daily before my eyes ; if any of these, I say, could have dissuaded me, I had not now remained as I do. But so constant have I always continued in this determination—albeit my words and my youth may happily seem hardly to agree—that it is most true I stand now free from any other meaning. Nevertheless, if any of you suspect that, in case it shall please God hereafter to change my purpose, I will determine something to the prejudice of the realm, put the jealousy out of your heads, for I assure you—what credit my assurance have with you, I cannot tell, but what it doth determine to have, the sequel shall declare—I will never conclude anything in that matter which shall be hurtful to the realm, for the preservation and prosperity whereof as a loving mother I will never spare to spend my life. And upon whomsoever my choice shall fall, he shall be as careful for your preservation,—I will not say as myself, for I cannot for another as for myself,—but my will and best endeavour shall not fail that he shall be as careful for you as myself. And albeit it shall please God that I still persevere in a virgin's state, yet you must not fear but he will so work, both in my heart and in your wisdom, that provision shall be made, in convenient time, whereby the realm shall not remain

* Sir Simonds d'Ewes kept a record of the parliamentary proceedings during the whole of this reign, which is accepted as authority. We give the speech of Elizabeth from Sir John Hayward, which contains the substance of d'Ewes's report.—"First Four Years of Queen Elizabeth." Camden Society, p. 31.

destitute of an heir who may be a fit governor, and, peradventure, more beneficial than such offspring as I should bring forth, for, although I be careful of your well-doings, and ever purpose so to be, yet may my issue degenerate, and grow out of kind. The dangers which you fear are neither so certain, nor of such nature, but you may repose yourselves upon the providence of God, and the good provisions of the state. Wits curious in casting things to come are often hurtful, for that the affairs of this world are subject to so many accidents that seldom doth that happen which the wisdom of men doth seem to foresee. As for me, it shall be sufficient that a marble shall declare that a queen, having lived and reigned so many years, died a virgin. And here I end, and take your coming in very good part, and again give hearty thanks to you all; yet more for your zeal, and good meaning, than for the matter of your suit."

The progress of the queen from the Tower to Westminster, on the 14th of January, previous to her coronation on the 15th, is described by Holinshed with an extraordinary fulness. The pageants were of the most gorgeous description; but the chronicler dwells with an evident satisfaction upon the minutest circumstances that illustrate the demeanour of Elizabeth. It is clear that she felt that her strong hold upon power was to be found in the affections of the people. She was the first sovereign of England that built up the security of dominion upon so broad a foundation. She had enough of the "haughty and imperious qualities inherited from her father;" but from the very first she had the wisdom to see that the days had gone by when a king could repose safely upon the fear of the nobles or the amity of the churchmen. She desired to be loved and obeyed by a People, and not by a class. She and her wise advisers had taken their resolution to abide by Protestantism, with a conviction that the English were a people unsuited for burnings and inquisitions. The determination was not to be carried out without danger and difficulty; but the affections of the People would make that easy which would have been impossible to a selfish despotism. Let us see how Elizabeth cultivated those affections in the simplest courtesies of a city pageant:—"When the people made the air ring with praying to God for her prosperity, she thanked them with exceeding liveliness both of countenance and voice, and wished neither prosperity nor safety to herself, which might not be for their common good. As she passed by the Companies of the city, standing in their homes, she took particular knowledge of them, and graced them with many witty formalities of speech. She diligently both observed and commended such devices as were presented to her, and to that end sometimes caused her coach to stand still, sometimes to be removed to places of best advantage for hearing and for sight; and in the meantime fairly entreated the people to be silent. And when she understood not the meaning of any representation, or could not perfectly hear some speeches that were made, she caused the same to be declared unto her. When the recorder of the city presented to her a purse of crimson satin, very richly and curiously wrought, and therein a thousand marks in gold, with request that she would continue a gracious mistress to the city; she answered, That she was bound in a natural obligation so to do, not so much for their gold, as for their good will: that as they had been at great expense of treasure that day, to honour her passage, so all the days of her life she would be ready to expend not only

her treasure, but the dearest drops of her blood, to maintain and increase their flourishing state. When she espied a Pageant at the Little Conduit in Cheape, she demanded (as it was her custom in the rest) what should be represented therein: answer was made, that Time did there attend for her: 'Time? (said she) how is that possible, seeing it is time that hath brought me hither?' Here a bible in English richly covered was let down unto her by a silk lace from a child that represented Truth. She kissed both her hands, with both her hands she received it, then she kissed it; afterwards applied it to her breast; and lastly held it up, thanking the city especially for that gift, and promising to be diligent reader thereof. When any good wishes were cast forth for her virtuous and religious government, she would lift up her hands towards Heaven, and desire the people to answer, Amen. When it was told her that an ancient citizen turned his head back and wept: 'I warrant you,' said she, 'it is for joy;' and so in very deed it was. She cheerfully received not only rich gifts from persons of worth, but nosegays, flowers, rosemary-branches, and such like presents, offered unto her from very mean persons, insomuch as it may truly be said, that there was neither courtesy nor cost cast away that day upon her. It is incredible how often she caused her coach to stay, when any made offer to approach unto her, whether to make petition, or whether to manifest their loving affections.'*

The parliament which met on the 21st of January, 1559, had a task before it which required the greatest discretion. A great ecclesiastical revolution was to be accomplished, with as little violence as possible, and with some show of conciliation. Cecil was the chief adviser of Elizabeth. He was the first person sworn of her privy council; and to his sagacity must be attributed the comprehensive view which was taken of the whole domestic and foreign policy of the country. During the reign of Mary, the retired secretary of Edward VI., who had been so sound a Protestant, was one of those who outwardly conformed to the Roman Catholic religion, though unlike Paget, Petre, and others of Edward's counsellors, he held no office. But he was on terms of friendship with Cardinal Pole; and he lived in affluence and security. The statements of some over-zealous writers that, under Mary, he was a conscientious adherent to protestant opinions, are disproved by documents which show that he attended mass, and confessed to the priest, in the parish in which he held church-lands. He was more happily employed than in the disgusting service of persecution in which Mary's ministers were engaged. He was superintending his mother's property at Burleigh; making additions to the old family house there; holding correspondence about purchasing ewes, and setting kernels of apples, and pears, and chestnuts. It is interesting information to him that his fawns do well in the closes where the maidens go to milk, and that his calves are to be put in the horse-pasture when the snows shall be gone.† These unambitious occupations were Cecil's safety; and in his years of comparative freedom from business of state, he was enabled to devise a broad plan of action if the sceptre should again pass into the hands of a protestant ruler. He was held by the Romanists, as we have seen, to have "the character of a prudent and virtuous man, although a heretic."

* This description by Sir John Hayward is a condensation of the more interesting points of Holinshed's account.

† Letter in Tytler, vol. ii. p. 489.

When the time for action arrived, Elizabeth had the benefit of those earnest yet temperate convictions which he had formed during his retirement. He had studied the temper of the people of England. He knew the character of the princess, who, in all probability, would quickly succeed to the throne. When Cecil was called to the councils of Elizabeth he was prepared with the whole scheme for the restoration of Protestantism. He saw all the dangers of the course that was to be pursued; but he did not counsel evasion of its difficulties; or any delay beyond the time for the meeting of parliament. His "Device for the alteration of religion" is an interesting document, which has been thus abridged by Camden :*

"It seemed necessary for the queen to do nothing before a parliament were called; for only from that assembly could the affections of the people be certainly gathered. The next thing she had to do, was to balance the dangers that threatened her both from abroad and at home. The Pope would certainly excommunicate and depose her, and stir up all Christian princes against her. The king of France would lay hold of any opportunity to embroil the nation; and by the assistance of Scotland, and of the Irish, might perhaps raise troubles in her dominions. Those that were in power in queen Mary's time, and remained firm to the old superstition, would be discontented at the Reformation of religion; the bishops and clergy would generally oppose it; and since there was a necessity of demanding subsidies, they would take occasion, by the discontent the people would be in on that account, to inflame them; and those who would be dissatisfied at the retaining of some of the old ceremonies, would on the other hand disparage the changes that should be made, and call the religion a cloaked papistry, and so alienate many of the most zealous from it. To remedy all these things, it was proposed to make peace with France, and to cherish those in that kingdom that desired the Reformation. The courses and practices of Rome were not much to be feared. In Scotland those must be encouraged who desired the like change in religion; and a little money among the heads of the families in Ireland, would go a great way. And for those who had borne rule in Queen Mary's time, ways were to be taken to lessen their credit throughout England; they were not to be too soon trusted or employed, upon pretence of turning; but those who were known to be well affected to religion, and the queen's person, were to be sought after and encouraged. The bishops were generally hated by the nation: it would be easy to draw them within the statute of *Præmunire*, and upon their falling into it, they must be kept under it, till they had renounced the pope, and consented to the alterations that should be made. The commissions of the peace, and for the militia, were to be carefully reviewed, and such men were to be put in them, as would be firm to the queen's interests. When the changes should be made, some severe punishments would make the rest more readily submit. Great care was to be had of the universities, and other public schools, as Eton and Winchester, that the next generation might be betimes seasoned with the love and knowledge of religion. Some learned men, as Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Pilkington, and sir Thomas Smith, were to be ordered to meet and consider of the Book of Service. In the meanwhile the people were to be restrained from innovating

* As translated by Burnet.

without authority; and the queen, to give some hope of a Reformation, might appoint the Communion to be given in both kinds."

Sir Nicholas Bacon, the brother-in-law of Cecil—a lawyer who had filled no important office, and had attained no great distinction—was appointed lord keeper. He opened the session of parliament with a speech of which the moderation was the most remarkable feature. He exhorted the members to "fly from all manner of contentions, reasonings, and disputations, and all sophistical, captious, and frivolous arguments and quiddities, meeter for ostentation of wit than consultation of weighty matters." He trusted that "contumelious and opprobrious words, such as heretic, schismatic, papist," would be banished out of men's mouths. He implored them to use great and wary consideration that nothing be advised or done, which might "breed or nourish any kind of idolatry or superstition;" but, on the other hand, to take heed lest, by "licentious or loose handling, any manner of occasion be given, whereby any contempt or irreverent behaviour towards God and godly things, or any spice of irreligion might creep in, or be conceived." * It was certainly in a spirit of moderation that the parliament, though decidedly Protestant, proceeded to establish the great religious change by statute law. The first Statute is called, "an Act restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same." The Lords and Commons say that by the repeal by Philip and Mary of the statutes of Henry VIII., the queen's subjects "were estoons brought under an assumed foreign power and authority, and yet do remain in that bondage." Two temporal lords, the archbishop of York, eight bishops, and the abbot of Westminster, opposed this bill. Lord Montacute, who, with the bishop of Ely, had negotiated with the pope that England might be restored to the unity of the church of Rome, contended that "the hazard would be as great as the scandal, should the pope thunder out his excommunication; and expose the nation, by that means, to the resentment of its neighbouring enemies." † The government of Elizabeth was not to be frightened by the thunders of the Vatican. It went steadily forward in carrying the measures necessary for bringing back the kingdom to its ecclesiastical condition at the end of the reign of Edward VI. In the act against foreign jurisdiction the statute for receiving the Sacrament of the Altar in both kinds was restored; and the statute of Philip and Mary for reviving the old laws for the punishment of heresies was repealed. All archbishops, bishops, judges, and all ministers and officers spiritual and temporal, were to make a declaration upon oath, "that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal." The title "supreme governor" was adopted in preference to that of "head of the church." The penalties under this act, against persons maintaining the authority of any foreign prince or prelate were,—fine and imprisonment for a first offence; the incurring a præmunire for the second; and death for a third, as in cases of high treason. The sagacious statesman. Walsingham, pointed out the lenity of this law, as compared with the statutes of Henry VIII., "whereby the oath of supremacy might have been offered at the king's pleasure to any

* As reported by D'Ewes. "Parliamentary History," vol. i. p. 638. † *Ibid.*, p. 659.

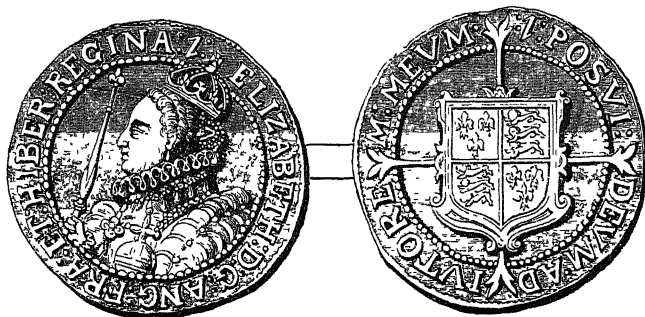
subject, so he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself, and the refusal to take the same oath, without further circumstances, was made treason. But contrariwise, her majesty not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts, or affirmations, tempered her law so as it restraineth every manifest disobedience, in impugning and impeaching, advisedly and maliciously, her majesty's supreme power, maintaining and extolling a foreign jurisdiction." * In contrast to this, we must not forget that some of the laws against Roman Catholics, in a later period of this reign, were conceived in a far less moderate spirit. By this law of the first year of Elizabeth, it was provided that the commissioners who might be appointed by the crown to exercise spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were not to adjudge matters to be heresy, but such as had been decided to be so by the Holy Scripture, or by the first four General Councils. This provision is held to be "equivalent to an exemption of Roman Catholics, as such, from the imputation of heresy." † Care was also taken, under the Act which was passed "for the uniformity of Common Prayer" to omit from the Service book of Edward VI., the offensive passage in the liturgy, praying for deliverance "from the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities." Yet the change thus established was so sweeping, after six years of the Latin mass-book, that we cannot be surprised that nine prelates and nine temporal peers voted against the statute. In the Commons there was only one dissentient. The Act must, however, have been felt as a great grievance by a large body; for it absolutely interdicted the celebration of the Catholic rites, even in private; and rendered all persons who should absent themselves from church, on Sundays and holidays, liable to a fine of one shilling. The statute was, as all enactments are which interfere with the rights of conscience, capable of being converted into an instrument of public oppression or private malice. Many Roman Catholics went into exile, to avoid imprisonment under the authority of the Court of High Commission. The moderation which was professed by the government of Elizabeth was in some degree rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the uncompromising temper of the clergy in convocation. Disregarding a warning from the queen, they set forth a document asserting the supremacy of the pope, the real presence in the sacrament, and the exclusive right of the church to treat of doctrine and regulate public worship. A solemn disputation, the lord-keeper presiding, was held in Westminster Abbey, between catholic and protestant divines, which only produced mutual irritation. The new statutes for taking the oath of supremacy, and for the use of the English liturgy, came into operation on midsummer-day, 1559. Fifteen bishops refused the oath; and resigned their sees, or were deprived. There were ten vacant sees. Only two bishops conformed. A very small proportion of the beneficed clergy surrendered their livings. At the end of the year Matthew Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; and he then proceeded to the consecration of four other bishops, who had been exiles in the time of Mary.

There were some peculiarities in Elizabeth's religious opinions which were not wholly in accordance with the great change which her government had carried through with so little opposition. She had a dislike to the marriages

* Burnet, part ii. book 3.

† Mackintosh, "History," vol. iii. p. 10.

of the clergy; and she had a lingering fondness for some of the gorgeous ceremonies of Catholicism. But to the general principles of Protestantism she was fully committed, not only by inclination, but by the force of political circumstances. A peace with France was concluded in April, 1559, in which the restoration of Calais was postponed for eight years, under a condition that if either party acted in contravention of the treaty, all claim to the disputed territory should be forfeited. At the congress during the last days of queen Mary, the English envoys said, that if they returned without the recovery of Calais they would be stoned to death by the people. The condition in the treaty of April was evidently introduced only to conciliate this popular feeling, by the delusion that the old conquest had not been irrevocably lost. Scotland was included in this peace. Philip II., of Spain, and Henry II., of France, were now free to pursue their plans for the extermination of heretics; and their friendship was completed by the marriage of Philip with Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry. The duke of Alva officiated as his sovereign's proxy. In the tournaments which followed this wedding, the French king was acci-



Crown of Queen Elizabeth.

dentally killed by the lance of Montgomery, a young Scottish noble. He was succeeded by his eldest son, who became Francis II. Mary Stuart was now queen of France. She was the next heiress to the throne of England. According to the Catholic notions of that time that the pope had the disposal of earthly crowns, a pretence was set up that Elizabeth's claim having been rejected by the pope, the queen of France and Scotland was now also the lawful queen of England. Amongst Cecil's papers there are "notes of queen Elizabeth's reign," in which are the following entries, under the year 1559:

Jan. 16. "The dauphin of France, and his wife, queen of Scots, did by the style of king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland, grant to the Lord Fleming certain things."

June 28. "The jousts at Paris, wherein the king dauphin's two heralds were appareled with the arms of England and Scotland."

July 16. "Ushers, going before the queen of Scots, being now the French queen, to the chapel, cry, '*Place pour la Reine d'Angleterre.*'"

At the marriage of the French king's daughter there were shown escutcheons of the arms of Scotland and England, as "the arms of Mary, queen dolphin of France," recording, moreover, that she was of Scotland

queen, of England, and of Ireland. The constable Montmorency interfered to stay these dangerous exhibitions. But these pretensions were stimulated by Mary's ambitious relatives of the house of Guise; and they became the foundation of that hostility which was the cause of so much disquiet to Elizabeth, and of such dire calamity to Mary. Scotland became a theatre for the contests between a French party, representing Roman Catholic interests, and the national party of Reformers, with whom Elizabeth allied herself. When the connection of Mary with France was terminated by the death of her boyish husband, she came to a government in which her own opinions were opposed to those of the predominant religious power, and she became an alien amidst a majority of her subjects.

The character and position of Elizabeth very soon placed her at the head of the Protestant party of Europe; and her whole reign must be viewed with reference to this leadership. It was a struggle which called forth all the decision of her own nature, all the prudence of her counsellors, and all the energies of her people. This was a great period, in which the English mind asserted itself with a vigour and independence which heralded every future triumph of the national intellect and the national courage. There was a battle for life and death going on in Europe, and England was joined in the battle with the weaker numerical party. The serious differences between the various Protestant persuasions;—the hostilities between the puritan party at home and the church, which had retained many of the ceremonials of the ancient faith;—these dissensions did not disqualify Elizabeth from being the acknowledged head of the reformed religion. The great leader of the Roman Catholic party was Philip II. England had as her companions in the struggle, the Scandinavian countries, and those who spoke the German language on the eastern shores of the Baltic. A large part of Germany was Protestant. "A Venetian ambassador reckons that only a tenth part of the inhabitants of Germany had remained faithful to the old religion."* In France Protestantism had taken root; but its growth was to be stopped by barbarities which were in contemplation when Elizabeth came to the throne. In the Netherlands Charles V. and his son were pursuing the work of extermination. Spain was in the grasp of the Inquisition; one of the powers which had been organised to support the Church of Rome in the contest which had assumed such formidable dimensions. Another engine devised for the security of Catholicism was the Order of the Jesuits. With the Inquisition and the Jesuits, the papal power had a devoted army at its command, every member of which was prepared to extinguish heresy by force or by cunning. When these spiritual arms were wielded under the temporal power of a determined bigot such as Philip II., such scenes of horror were exhibited as still curdle the blood when they are related. Such scenes would probably have been exhibited in England had the throne not been left vacant for the accession of Elizabeth. Had Philip ruled here, the spirit of her people might have been crushed, as Spain was crushed two centuries ago, when "the hand of the Inquisition drew the line which said, No Further."† The time was coming when the English government, not only for its own safety, but for the assertion of a high principle, would have to mix itself up

* Ranke, vol. ii. p. 12.

† Prescott, Philip II.

with the affairs of Scotland in a way which involved much dissembling policy and many acts which the spirit of better times must regard as oppressive; but which could scarcely be avoided in the position of self-defence which England was compelled to take against the force and intrigue which would have subjected that portion of the island to a foreign Catholic domination. The time was close at hand when England would have to fight the Protestant battle, by giving aid to the reformed faith in France and the Netherlands. The government of Elizabeth had taken its side, and wisely, because the cause of Protestantism was the cause of progress. The bold, masculine signature of Elizabeth to the State Papers in which she proclaimed her consistent adherence to the opinions upon which political and religious liberty were eventually to be built—a liberty much more enlarged than she and her advisers could contemplate—was the terror of superstition and tyranny; and when we look upon that signature let us never forget, amongst her many faults, what we owe to that great woman.

From the time when the ecclesiastical policy of the government of Elizabeth was fully manifest, the affairs of Scotland became all-important to England. In the relations, either by Scottish or English historians, of the complicated transactions between the two countries for more than forty years, it has been too generally assumed that the intrigues of England were constantly fomenting the divisions of Scotland; and, to use the words of one of the most sensible of antiquaries "Elizabeth has been set forth in this respect as the very demon of discord, ever occupied in blowing coals of strife."* This writer adds, "Upon this point we desire to see an entire revision of the historical evidence." At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the connexion of the house of Guise with the queen of Scotland—a house determined to oppose Protestantism by the most violent proceedings—made

* Mr. Bruce. Introduction to Letters of Elizabeth and James VI., p. xx.

the watchfulness and even hostile intervention of England a measure of self-defence. Cecil broadly laid down this principle: "It is agreeable to God's law for every prince and public state to defend itself, not only from present peril, but from perils that may be feared to come. It is manifest that France cannot any way so readily, so puissantly offend, yea, invade and put the crown of England in danger, as if they recover an absolute authority over Scotland. The long, deep-rooted hatred of the house of Guise, which now occupieth the king's authority, against England, is well known."* Although the foolish demonstrations of a claim to the throne of England on the part of the queen of Scotland had been disavowed by the French minister, that claim was not allowed to sleep by the bigoted uncles of Mary. In 1559 a great seal was sent to Scotland, on which were engraved the arms of France, Scotland, and England. Elizabeth had to choose between two policies; either to unite in friendship with the cousin who indirectly claimed not only succession but a prior title to the English crown—a queen whose steadfast opposition to the reformed religion was at variance with the opinions of her own subjects;—or to manifest a sympathy with the Protestant leaders in Scotland, who were bent upon resisting the attempts of the French to rule over them. One of the reformed leaders, Maitland of Lethington, wrote to Cecil, "When we see them, the French, attempt conquest, and you, the English, show us friendship, shall we not hate them and favour you, especially now that we are come to a conformity of doctrine?" The differences between the regent, the mother of Mary, and the Scottish reformers, were coming to a head. By the assistance of the reformers she had attained her own position as the actual ruler of the country; and the dauphin of France, the husband of her daughter, had been recognised as king of Scotland. But after the peace of 1559 she was won over to the designs of the house of Guise for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Europe, and, as a necessary consequence, for putting down the Reformation in Scotland, and eventually for removing Elizabeth from the throne of England. The queen-regent of Scotland boldly issued a proclamation for conformity of religion; in which all persons were commanded to resort daily to mass and confession. She was reminded of her promises of toleration, by some of the Lords of the Congregation—the leaders of the reformers being so styled—to whom she replied that "promises ought not to be urged upon princes, unless they can conveniently fulfil them." At this juncture John Knox arrived in Scotland. During an absence of two years the doctrines which he had boldly preached in the face of danger had made extraordinary progress—although in many places the ascendancy was still with the Romish party. Within a week of his arrival, under the excitement produced by his vehement oratory operating upon the indignation caused by the regent's hostility, there was an outburst of popular fury at Perth, when the religious houses of the Grey Friars and Carthusians were devastated and plundered. The struggle appeared likely to end in bloodshed; for an army was assembled on either side. But a treaty was concluded, which Knox denounced as only intended to deceive. Tranquillity was not long preserved. After various acts of violence, the reformers having obtained possession of Perth, the army

* Forbes' State Papers.

of the Congregation entered Edinburgh on the 29th of June. Knox had at this time prepared a letter to Cecil, in which, addressing the queen, he says, "My eyes have long looked to a perpetual concord betwixt these two realms, the occasion whereof is most present, if you shall move your hearts unfeignedly to seek the same. For humility of Christ Jesus crucified, now begun here to be practised, may join together the hearts of those whom Satan, by pride, have long dissevered. For the furtherance hereof I would have licence to repair towards you. God move your heart rightly to consider the estate of both the realms, which stand in greater danger than many do espy. The common bruit, I doubt not, carrieth unto you the troubles that be lately here risen for the controversy in religion. The truth is, that many of the nobility, the most part of barons and gentlemen, with many towns and one city, have put to their hands to remove idolatry and the monuments of the same. The Reformation is somewhat violent, because the adversaries be stubborn. None that possesseth Christ Jesus with us usurpeth anything against the authorities, neither yet intendeth to usurp, unless strangers be brought in to subdue and bring in bondage the liberties of this poor country; if any such thing be espied, I am uncertain what shall follow."*

The great object of the leaders of the Scottish Reformation was to make a firm alliance with England. They gave repeated assurance to the ministers of Elizabeth that their design did not contemplate sedition or rebellion against any lawful authority. The queen-regent was diligent in spreading the contrary opinion, that their object was to overturn the existing government. Elizabeth was too cautious to give any direct encouragement to subjects to resist their rulers; and she required assurances upon this point, reserving, however, the right of resistance in a case of extreme necessity. Cecil gave them vague promises of support, if such a necessity should arise. A convention was concluded between the regent and the Lords of the Congregation; but neither party trusted to any enduring tranquillity. The regent was looking for support from France; the reformers to England for the aid of men and money. At last Elizabeth rendered some secret assistance; and the Guises, who were now the real rulers of France, sent a force of a thousand Frenchmen to Scotland, who disembarked at Leith. The regent then entrenched and fortified that port, against which proceeding the leaders of the Congregation prematurely remonstrated. At length they made a decided demonstration of war. On the 15th of October they marched into Edinburgh with a force of twelve thousand men; and the regent retired to her stronghold of Leith. The Congregation formed two councils, one for civil affairs, another for religion; and they addressed a letter to the regent, requiring her instantly to command all foreigners and men-at-arms to depart from Leith. She replied, that Frenchmen were naturalised subjects, and commanded the duke of Chastelherault,† who had joined the reformers, and his company, to depart from Edinburgh. They decided that the queen-regent should be deposed from her authority. The army of the Congregation, ill-disciplined, and composed of vassals who would not remain long in the field, was defeated in an assault upon Leith;

* Letter in State Paper Office, given in Tytler's "History of Scotland," vol. vi. p. 131.

† The French title of the earl of Arran, who had been regent at a former period.

and the capital was again occupied by the royal forces. The castle of Edinburgh was, nevertheless, held by the reformers, the governor refusing to surrender it unless under the authority of the parliament, who had committed it to his charge. Elizabeth at last consented to render real and open assistance to the reformers, who entreated her prompt aid upon the sole ground that it was the intention of France to make a conquest of Scotland, and then to dispossess the queen of England of her throne. In January 1560 a treaty was concluded at Berwick, in which the duke of Norfolk agreed with the commissioners of the Congregation, that Elizabeth should send assistance, and that she would support the confederated lords, whilst they recognised Mary as their queen, and maintained the rights of the crown. They stipulated that they would not sanction any other union of Scotland with France than then existed, and, if England should be attacked by France, would furnish an auxiliary force of four thousand men. On the 2nd of April, 1560, lord Grey entered Scotland with an army of two thousand horse and six thousand foot, and was joined at Preston by the army of the Congregation, to the number of eight thousand. The English Council very wisely did not encumber the commander of their army with more than a soldier's work. They sent sir Ralph Sadler to negotiate, and wrote to lord Grey, "Stick not to go through with this enterprise, and your praise will be more than all the rest of your life, if all your life were laid together. Take heed of French enchantments. They will win time of you, if ye take not good heed. Well; thus we leave your lordship to your business."

The Scottish and English army marched on to Leith. The English fleet, under the command of William Winter, had entered the Frith of Forth at the end of January. When Cecil had despatched the squadron, he wrote to Sadler, "our ships be on the seas, God speed them." In the northern parts of Scotland the French had succeeded in forming a league, by which the clans and men of the isles had engaged to uphold the Romish faith and the French authority. The siege of Leith commenced. At this crisis the queen-regent became dangerously ill; and at an interview which she requested with the leaders of the Congregation, at Edinburgh, she endeavoured to reconcile the differences which had led to such extremities; and exhorted them to send both the French and English troops out of the kingdom. She died on the 10th of June. Leith was defended by the French troops with great bravery; and the siege went slowly on. The town was at last surrendered, after the conclusion of a treaty of pacification. Hayward has well described the extremities of hunger to which the garrison had been reduced:—"All this time the English army was well furnished with victuals from all parts of Scotland, and that upon very easy prices. But the French were so straitly girt up within Leith, that no supplies were brought unto them. Hereupon they grew very short in strength of men, and no less in provision of food for those men which they had; the one happening to them by the force of their enemies, the other either by disability or negligence of their friends; so, their old store being spent, they were enforced to make use of everything out of which hunger was able to draw nourishment. The flesh of horses was then more dainty than ever they esteemed venison before; dogs, cats, and vermin of more vile nature were highly valued; vines were stripped of their leaves and tender stalks; grass and weeds were picked up, and being well seasoned with hunger, were-

reputed among them for dainties and delicate dishes." Upon its surrender the French governor, D'Oysell, entertained the captains of the besiegers within the fortress; "where," says Stow, "was prepared for them a banquet of thirty or forty dishes, and yet not one either of flesh or fish, saving one of a powdered [salted] horse, as was avouched by one that avowed himself to have tasted thereof."

The peace which put an end to this brief period of English warfare in Scotland, was concluded at Edinburgh on the 6th of July. The negotiations on the part of England had been managed with remarkable skill by Cecil. He succeeded in obtaining from the French commissioners a renunciation of the pretensions to the crown of England, which had been assumed by the king and queen of France; and he obtained a complete recognition of the liberty of conscience for which the reformers had taken up arms. This was most difficult of accomplishment; for they were regarded as rebels to their sovereign. But Cecil insisted that the treaty of Berwick between his mistress and the Lords of the Congregation should be recognised and confirmed. The able minister accomplished this by a flattering "preface" to the article which secured this acknowledgment; "and we," he writes, "content with the kernel, yielded to them the shell to play withal." The Congregation were to be secured by an act of oblivion; a general peace and reconciliation were to take place amongst the nobility and subjects of the land, including the reformers and the adherents to the ancient faith; a Council was to govern the kingdom in the absence of the queen, of whom she was to appoint seven, and the estates five; all foreign troops were to quit the country; and a parliament was to be held in August. In this treaty no express recognition of the reformed worship was introduced; and the bishops and other churchmen who had received injuries, were to be redressed. But the reformers were filled with gratitude to Elizabeth, although she had preserved a strict neutrality upon the great question of religion. Their queen was to send over a commission for assembling a parliament; and they left the future to the well-known disposition of the great body of the people to favour the Reformation.

The treaty of Edinburgh was so unpalatable to the house of Guise, that for nearly a year the queen of Scotland refused to ratify it. The estates of the kingdom, however, assembled, at the time stipulated by the treaty, without receiving any commission from their queen. It was held that the express words of the treaty provided that such a meeting of the estates should be lawful without being so convoked. There was no doubt what course affairs would take; for the question of the legality of the parliament was carried by an overwhelming majority. The first proceeding of the estates was to draw up a Confession of Faith, founded on the reformed doctrines as received by Calvin. The opposition of the bishops and other Romanists was useless. This remarkable summary of doctrine must have been the result of the most careful consideration. The solemn earnestness of its tone was characteristic of the Scottish people and their spiritual leaders in the Reformation. It concludes with this prayer: "Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemeis be confoundit; let theme flee fra thy presence that hait thy godly name: Give thy servandis strenth to speik thy worde in baldness, and lat all natiounis cleif to thy trew knowlege. Amen." * The Confession of Faith was followed up

* "Acts of the Parliament of Scotland," A.D. 1560.

by three Acts, which established the reformed religion upon legislative sanction, much more rapidly and sweepingly than had been accomplished in England; and with a more signal display of intolerance. The first abolished the power and jurisdiction of the pope in Scotland; the second repealed all statutes in favour of the Romish church; and the third provided that all who should say mass, or hear mass, should incur confiscation of goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third. During the sitting of this parliament Knox was preaching in Edinburgh with his accustomed vehemence; and he scrupled not to call upon the Protestant leaders to restore the patrimony of the church, which they had appropriated, that it might be applied for the support of ministers, the encouragement of learning, and the assistance of the poor. The proceedings in the parliament of Scotland necessarily gave offence to queen Mary; and she again refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. When



Knox's House, in the Canongate, Edinburgh.

urged to do so by Throckmorton, the English ambassador, she thus addressed him:—"Such answer as the king, my lord and husband, and his council hath made you in that matter, might suffice; but, because you shall know I have reason to do as I do, I will tell you what moveth me to refuse to ratify the treaty; my subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed one point that belongeth unto them. I am their queen, and so they call me, but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them, and though I have not many faithful subjects there, yet those few that be there on my party, were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their

doings, after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all, to the king and me, in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your mistress. I am their sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duty."*

On the 6th of December, 1560, Francis II., the young king of France, died, after a reign of seventeen months. His death prevented the execution of a project for rooting the reformed doctrines out of France, by holding an assembly of the States-General, at which all should sign a confession of the catholic faith, which should then be tendered for signature to every person in the kingdom, the refusal to be punished by banishment or death. Mary appears very soon to have determined upon a return to Scotland; hoping, by previous negotiation, to have won over her subjects to a willing obedience. She was admirably fitted by her beauty, her winning manners, and her acute intellect, to obtain the homage of all hearts, could she have resolved to separate herself from the policy of her family, even if she did not choose to conform to the religion which had been so solemnly proclaimed by a vast majority of the Scottish people assembled in parliament. It was determined in Scotland to send as an ambassador to Mary, the lord James Murray, the illegitimate son of James V. He was the chief leader of the Congregation, and was intrusted with full powers to request Mary to return home, if unaccompanied by a foreign force, in which case she might repose with confidence upon the loyalty of her subjects. Murray wisely and bravely stipulated, in opposition to the remonstrances of the reformed ministers, that his sister should be left free to the private exercise of her own religion. After the death of Francis, Elizabeth also sent an ambassador to condole with her; to assure her of the desire of England to remain at peace; but to demand her confirmation of the treaty concluded by her commissioners at Edinburgh. Again Mary refused to ratify this treaty till she had returned to her own kingdom, and submitted the matter to her parliament. In her conferences with Murray, in whom she seems to have firmly trusted, although he was in intimate correspondence with the English government, Mary "did not scruple to admit that the amity between England and Scotland was little agreeable to her, and that, considering the terms of the league lately made betwixt the two realms, she was anxious to have it dissolved."† "Murray," continues the historian, "having secretly met the English ambassador, insidiously betrayed to him everything that had passed between Mary and himself." Thockmorton, in conveying the particulars to Elizabeth, wrote, under date of 29th April, 1561, "At this present, thanks be to God, your majesty hath peace with all the world; and I see no occasion to move unto your majesty or your realm any war from any place or person, but by the queen of Scotland and her means." Those who write of the secret transactions of this period, as imperfectly laid open by official letters, have the craft of Elizabeth, the confiding sincerity of Mary, and the

* Letter of Thockmorton to Elizabeth, in State Paper Office. Tytler's "Scotland," vol. vi. p. 225.

† Tytler. "Scotland," vol. vi. p. 255.

treachery of Murray and his associates always ready for argument or illustration. It would be well to consider what the rupture of the amity between England and Scotland, so desired by Mary, really meant. It meant a civil war in Scotland, which the alliance with England kept down. It meant the establishment of the French interest in Scotland, under the policy of the Guises, which has been thus described: "To put down the Huguenots in France, to encourage the Romanists in England and Scotland, to sow dissensions amongst the Protestant princes of Germany, to support the Council of Trent, now sitting, and, in a word, to concentrate the whole strength of France, Spain, Italy, and the Empire against that great moral and religious revolution, by which light and truth were struggling to break in upon a system of long-established error, was the main object to which they directed their efforts." * That Mary Stuart was fully imbued with the desire to support this main object, and that Elizabeth Tudor was equally resolved to oppose it, may more satisfactorily account for the early hostility between these queens than the received theory that the government of England was "constant in nothing, save in a desire to profit by the strifes and embarrassments of the Scottish people." The able writer who has so justly denounced this prevailing fallacy, says, with a distinct knowledge of the historical evidence, that "there were two principles which consistently regulated the English policy in Scotland during the time of Elizabeth. The one was, a determination that no continental power should interfere by force of arms in Scottish affairs; the other, a similar determination to uphold Protestantism and the Protestant party, in opposition to that party which befriended Mary." † When the queen of Scotland desired to return to her native country, she was assuring the English ambassador, that she was most anxious for the friendship of Elizabeth: "I, for my part, am very desirous to have the perfect and the assured amity of the queen, my good sister; and I will use all the means I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed." She was telling Murray, in confidence, that she desired to have the amity dissolved. Elizabeth, with a perfect knowledge of her real wishes, received the ambassador, D'Oysell, whom Mary had sent to solicit a safe conduct from the queen, either on her voyage to Scotland, or should she land in the English dominions. He was also to ask for a passport for himself to pursue his journey to Scotland. Elizabeth, with undisguised anger, refused both requests. "Let your queen," she said, "ratify the treaty, and she shall experience on my part, either by sea or land, whatever can be expected from a queen, a relation, or a neighbour." It was the point of the renunciation of the present claim to the crown of England that made Elizabeth so resolved. Sir James Mackintosh has pointed out that Dr. Robertson "confounded the right of succession with the claim to possession;" and that "the claim to possession, asserted by the arms, supposed Elizabeth to be an usurper; the right of succession recognised her as a lawful sovereign." ‡ This most unwise pretension of Mary, thus re-asserted by her refusal to ratify the treaty, was a real declaration of hostility, affecting the quiet of the English nation. The refusal of a safe-conduct had undoubtedly the approval of Elizabeth's ministers, who could not forbear to look with

* Tytler, vol. vi. p. 231.

† Mr. Bruce's Introduction to "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI." p. xx.

‡ "History of England," vol. iii. p. 55.

apprehension upon the return to Scotland of one so opposed to their general policy. Their conduct might be ungenerous, but it was not inconsistent. Cecil thus notices the resolve in a letter to the earl of Sussex:—"Many reasons moved us to dislike her passage, but this only served us for answer—that where she had promised to send the queen's majesty a good answer for the ratification of the last league of peace made in Edinburgh, and now had sent none, her majesty would not disguise with her, but plainly would forbear to show her such pleasure until she should ratify it; and, that done, she should not only have free passage, but all helps and gratuities." *

The indignation of Mary at this refusal was such as might have been expected from so high-spirited a woman. Throckmorton has related his interview with her on this occasion, and has reported her address to him, eloquent and slightly sarcastic. She desired her attendants to retire, and thus spoke to the ambassador:—"I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported, but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions as the queen, your mistress, was content to have when she talked with Monsieur d'Oysel. There is nothing doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself, as to require of the queen, your mistress, that favour which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey than she doth me of hers. I may pass well enough home into mine own realm, I think, without her passport or license; for though the late king, your master, used all the impeachment he could, both to stay me and catch me when I came hither, yet you know, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I came hither safely, and I may have as good means to help me home again, as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends. Truly, I was so far from evil meaning to the queen, your mistress, that at this time I was more willing to employ her amity to stand me in stead than all the friends I have, and yet you know, both in this realm and elsewhere, I have both friends and allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ their forces and aid to stand me in stead. You have oftentimes told me, that the amity between the queen, your mistress, and me, was very necessary and profitable for us both; and now I have some reason to think, that the queen, your mistress, is not of that mind, for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly. It seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects, than she doth of me their sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her highest kin's-woman and her next neighbour." † At this interview, however, Mary said, with reference to the complaint of her assumption of the arms of England, that she acted under the commandment of Henry, the king of France, and of her husband: "whatsoever was then done was their act, not mine, and since their death I have neither borne the arms, nor used the title, of England."

Amongst the imprudent avowals of Mary was the declaration of her hatred to John Knox, before she had acquired any experience of his severe judgment of her character, and his rough mode of urging his opinions upon her. On the eve of Mary's departure from France, Throckmorton wrote to Elizabeth—"I understand that the queen of Scotland is thoroughly

* Wright's "Queen Elizabeth."

† Keith's "Affairs of Scotland," quoted by Tytler, vol. vi. p. 270.

persuaded that the most dangerous man in all her realm of Scotland, both to her intent there, and the dissolving of the league between your majesty and that realm, is Knox; and therefore is fully determined to use all the means she can devise to banish him thence, or else to assure them that she will never dwell in that country as long as he is there; and to make him the more odious to your majesty, and that at your hands he receive neither courage nor comfort, she mindeth to send very shortly to your majesty, (if she have not already done it,) to lay before you the book that he hath written against the government of women, (which your majesty hath seen already,) thinking thereby to animate your majesty against him." This book of "The Government of Women" was a violent attack, whilst Knox was in exile, upon the rule of Mary Tudor, and his lightest word for her was "Jezabel." There were many other works issued to the same effect as that of Knox, in which a female monarchy was denounced as "monstrous." It may readily be understood how the queen of Scotland thought this book presented an excellent reason for the queen of England giving no countenance to Knox and his adherents. But Throckmorton, who knew how important it was that passion should be subjected to policy, thus gave his opinion about Knox and his "Blast" against female government: "But whatsoever the said queen shall insinuate your majesty of him, I take him to be as much for your majesty's purpose, and that he hath done, and doth daily, as good service for the advancement of your majesty's desire in that country, and to establish a mutual benevolence and common quiet between the two realms, as any man of that nation; his doings wherein, together with his zeal well known, have sufficiently recompensed his faults in writing that book, and therefore he is not to be driven out of that realm." He was not driven out when Mary arrived; and she had a bitter experience how unequal she was, with her ready wit, to cope with the dogged enthusiasm of the great reformer.

On the 14th of August, 1561, Mary embarked at Calais on her voyage to Scotland. There was an evil omen in the wreck of a vessel before her eyes as she left the harbour. Brantome has recorded those touching displays of her feelings, which show how reluctantly she quitted the country where she had moved amidst the universal homage of a gay court; where pleasures surrounded her on every side; and where there were no severe religionists to interpret the most innocent actions into evidences of immorality. Yet at that dangerous court, where female purity had ceased to be regarded as a virtue, and female prudence was ridiculed and despised, this fascinating woman might have learnt to forget that self-respect which would have shielded her from harm, even amongst the most stern judges of human conduct; and thus France might have been to her a cruel step-mother. She could now only look back upon its shores as the seat of past joys, and exclaim, "Farewell, France!" Again, when the evening was drawing on, would she again gaze, and say, "It is now, my dear France, that I lose sight of thee. I shall never see thee more." Awakened at the first dawning, as she had desired to be, if the coast were still in sight, she exclaimed, "Farewell, France. It is over." On they went to the North Sea, when a fog came on, and they cast anchor in the open sea. It was this fog, according to some writers, which prevented the galleys of Mary being captured by Elizabeth's cruisers. One vessel was taken and carried into port; but, says Tytler, "as

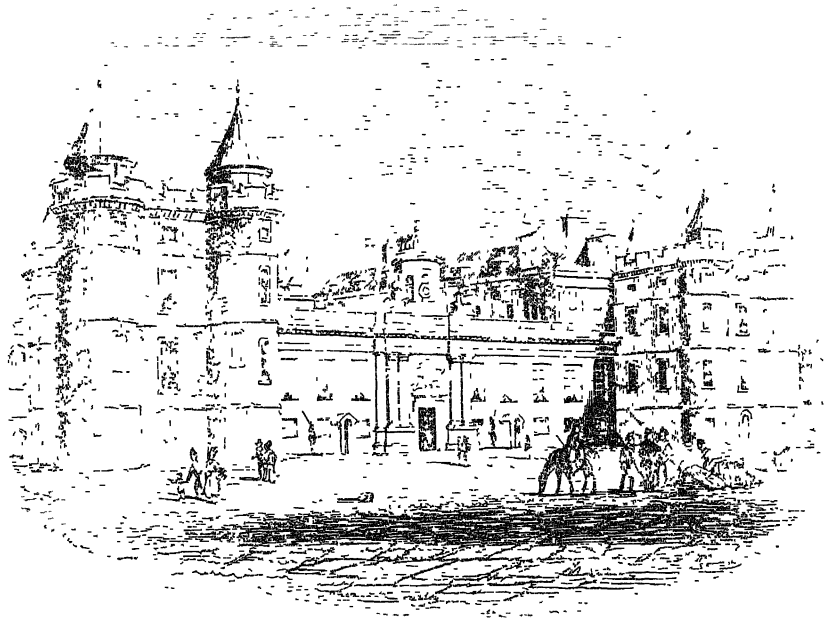
soon as it was discovered that the young queen was not on board, the prize was released, and pursued her voyage into Scotland. The incident, however, demonstrated clearly the sinister intentions of the English queen." This statement is scarcely candid, to say the least. The counter-statement, upon the authority of Cecil, is that the small English squadron was in pursuit of pirates, who were then cruising in the Scottish sea; that this squadron saluted the royal galleys; but detained one baggage vessel, suspected of having pirates on board. "The conduct of the English commanders towards Mary's vessels minutely corresponds with the assurance of Elizabeth, in her letter of the 16th of August, that she suspended her displeasure at the refusal to ratify the treaty, and had given orders to her naval officers which were equivalent to a safe conduct."* This document must have been familiar enough to the historian who so boldly affirms "the sinister intentions of the English queen." Elizabeth says, "It seemeth that report hath been made to you, that we had sent out our admiral with our fleet to hinder your passage. Your servants know how false that is. We have only, at the desire of the king of Spain, sent two or three small barks to sea, in pursuit of certain Scottish pirates."† Mary landed at the port of Leith on the 19th of August. She was received by a deputation, and conducted to the palace, or abbey, of Holyrood—that seat of Scottish royalty whose chief interest is associated with her name, but of which a very small portion of the original building remains. Mary had been accustomed to grander pageants than now welcomed her. Mean hackneys, wretchedly caparisoned, waited her arrival. She went on to Edinburgh, having no magnificence to show the French courtiers who surrounded her. Under the windows of Holyrood the citizens sang psalms to discordant three-stringed rebecks, which kept the weary queen from sleeping; and the next morning, when a popish priest was about to perform mass in her private chapel, he would have been slain by the master of Lindsay, and a furious multitude, had not Murray placed himself at the door of the chapel, and maintained the principle for which he had contended, that the queen should not be molested in the private exercise of her religion.

The fortunes of Mary Stuart and Elizabeth Tudor suggest the most remarkable contrasts, even up to this period. When Mary was in her girlhood she was married to the heir of one of the greatest monarchies of Europe; and she dwelt in the French court, surrounded with all the pomp and luxury of a refined but licentious age. When Elizabeth had scarcely reached her twenty-first year, she became the object of suspicion to her sister; was a close prisoner under apprehension of immediate death; and passed several years of durance and solitary anxiety. The taint of supposed illegitimacy was upon her, and her succession to the crown was more than doubtful. When she came to the throne she had to decide upon heading an ecclesiastical revolution that would make her the proscribed of Rome, and the contemned of Rome's supporters, or to support a system which had become odious in England. She threw herself upon her people,—and she triumphed. When Mary became the widowed queen of France, and returned to assume the rule of Scotland, she found herself supported by the great catholic

* Mackintosh, "History," vol. iii., p. 57.

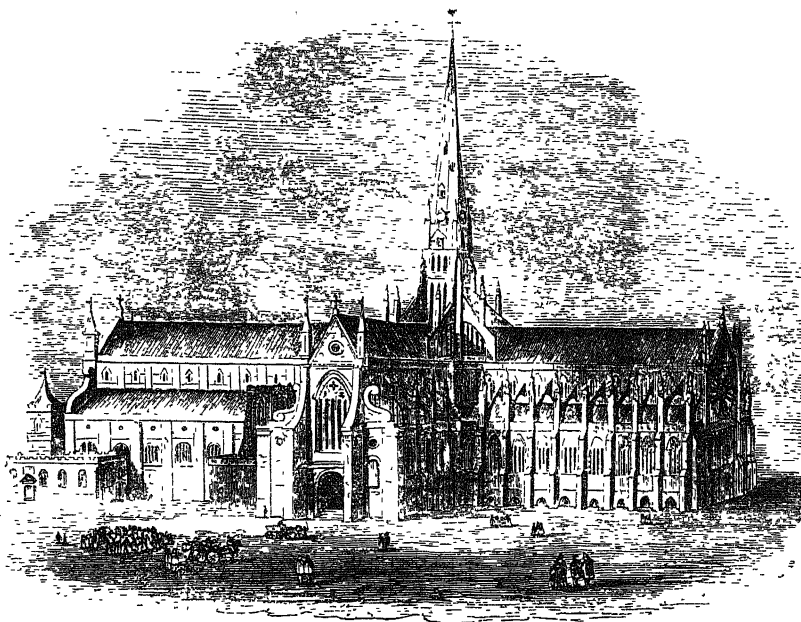
† Robertson, "Scotland," Appendix.

powers, but opposed to her people,—and she failed. She had to bear the rough monitions of Knox; the ill-concealed hostility and uncertain support of her nobles; and the secret or proclaimed dislike of an angry nation. Whilst the government of England was carrying out its resolved policy with regard to Scotland, and all there was strife and bitterness, Elizabeth was moving amongst her subjects with the love of the many and the fear of the few. Mary could depend upon no advisers; for the adherents to the old religion were too rash in their weakness, and the reformers too harsh in their strength. Elizabeth had the ablest men of the time as counsellors, who held to a settled principle of action without provoking hostility by capricious and passionate exercises of authority. Mary was the sovereign of a people amongst whom the feudal tyrannies had not yet been held in subjection by the growth of profitable industry. Elizabeth governed a community in which the strength of the middle classes had asserted itself against monarchical and ecclesiastical tyranny, and new channels of prosperity were being opened wherever commerce developed the energies of capital, and adventurous men went forth for the conquests of peace. The most prosaic record of the first two years of Elizabeth's reign shows how remarkably the tranquillity of England was opposed to the turbulence of Scotland.



Holyrood House.





Old St. Paul's, before the destruction of the steeple, 1561.

CHAPTER IX.

Public spirit under Elizabeth—Sports and Processions—England sends aid to the French Protestants—Scotland—Plans for Mary's marriage—Leicester and Darnley—Marriage of Mary and Darnley—The Reformers indignant at the marriage—Revolt of Murray and other nobles—Revolt suppressed, and the lords banished—Darnley and Riccio—Quarrels of the queen and Darnley—Plot against Riccio—Murder of Riccio—Birth of a Scottish prince—Ascendency of Bothwell—Darnley at the Kirk of Field—Assassination of Darnley—Mock trial of Bothwell—Mary carried off—Marriage of Mary and Bothwell—Mary surrenders to her nobles.

THE aspect of the English metropolis under the protestant government of Elizabeth is suggestive of the change that had taken place in the thoughts and habits of the people. In 1555, when we opened the "Diary of a Resident in London," we were following the traces of burnings and penances, of processions of the host and proclamations of the papal legate. We saw little of the salutary interference of the state with the ordinary concerns of life, in smoothing the road of industry by removal of unnatural barriers to prosperity; or in the association of municipal authority with central power for the establishment of laws that directly affected every member of the community by introducing economical reforms. In 1560, when the wise Council of Elizabeth had called in the base coin, which depreciation was now acknowledged

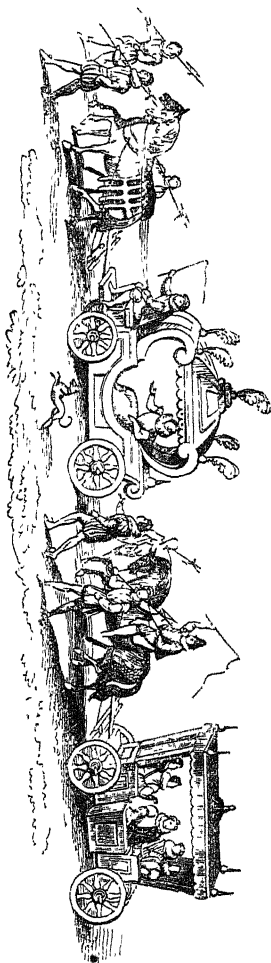
to be the main cause of the excessive dearness of commodities, members of the various crafts "walk in every market with a white rod in their hands, to look that men should take testons of the rate as the queen has proclaimed in all markets through all London." * This difficult operation of restoring the current money to a just value was carried through successfully, because it was set about boldly. The teston of Edward VI. had been coined to pass at the rate of twelve-pence; it was afterwards reduced to six-pence; and lastly to four-pence, its intrinsic value. Fine sterling money was exchanged at the mint for the base coin, according to this last rate. No doubt there was individual suffering in this apparent deterioration of property; but the great body of the labourers now knew that they were paid the agreed value for their labour, and were not deluded by receiving, as twelve-pence, what would only exchange for the third of a bushel of wheat instead of the bushel which the honest twelve-pence would have bought. There required much public spirit in the people, as well as firmness in the government, to carry through such a change without serious confusion. But it was accomplished with no recorded difficulty; and to this correction of the evils produced by the frauds of her despotic predecessors may much of the steady commercial advance of England under Elizabeth be ascribed. Public spirit at this time also manifested itself in a manner which has characterised our country for three centuries. In 1561, the steeple of St. Paul's was destroyed. "The 4th day of June, being Corpus Christi, between four and five of the clock at afternoon, the lightning took and entered into one of the holes that was in the outward part of the steeple, and set the steeple on fire; and consumed both wood and lead, and the bells fell below where the great organs stood beneath the chapel where the old bishop was buried." Some of the ancient devotees ascribed this calamity to the new religion; for there were relics of saints, deposited two centuries and a half before by a bishop of London, for the express purpose of protecting the steeple from the danger of tempests. The misfortune, however, did not discourage the Protestants from instantly beginning the repairs of the beautiful church. The magnificent steeple was never restored; but the roofs, which were entirely burnt, were replaced in the course of a year, at the cost of nearly six thousand pounds. This sum was raised by contributions from the queen, from the citizens of London, from the clergy of the province of Canterbury and of the diocese, and from voluntary subscribers. In earlier times the especial funds of the Church would have been devoted to the restoration of this splendid cathedral. But the Church property was now scattered; and in that distribution amongst the laity, the popular interests became more identified with the ecclesiastical, and the Church ceased to stand apart in self-supporting grandeur. The union of the high and the humble, the sovereign and the burgher, the noble and the priest, to carry through some object of common good, is one of the social principles of England which we see thus developing in the restoration of St. Paul's. That principle has formed one of the foundations of a generous and confiding nationality, in which the inequality of ranks is lost in a concurrence of duties; an union whose monuments are the results of systematic growth rather than of sudden creation, and therefore

* Machyn's Diary, p. 245.

more extensively and permanently useful than the solitary wonders of capricious despotism.

The English love of sports and popular amusements seems to have revived after the years of martyrdoms. Though the displays of a terrible criminal justice are revolting to our present notions, and we cannot read without some disgust, month after month, of burglars and cut-purses being hanged by dozens at Hyde Park Corner and Tyburn, yet the people of that time thought these things just and right; and went, without any sad reflections, from the scenes of the gallows and the pillory, to look upon matches of archery and aquatic games. Whilst St. Paul's is still smouldering, a great wager of archery was shot in Finsbury-field, in which lord Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, was the challenger; and on Midsummer Day, there was a great triumph on the river at Greenwich, with a sham fight, and shooting of guns, and hurling of balls of wild-fire, and a bark for the queen's grace to be in to see the pastime. On the 10th of July all London is out to behold Elizabeth go in grand procession from the Tower "unto Aldgate church, and so down Houndsditch to the Spital, and so down Hog Lane, and so over the fields to the Charter-house, my lord North's place." The next day the queen travels "from the Charter-house by Clerkenwell, over the fields into the Savoy, unto master Secretary Cecil to supper, and there was the council and many lords and ladies and gentlewomen, and there was great cheer till midnight; and after, her grace rid to my lord North's to bed at the Charter-house." These country excursions in the midst of the now "populous city," sound strange to the pent-up two millions and a half, for whom the fields, even "among the pleasant villages and farms adjoin'd," are a dream of the past. One more glimpse of the English queen, in her early days of triumph and splendour, if only to make us look more compassionately upon the poor Mary of Scotland, whose first recreation was to behold a pageant of the godly citizens of Edinburgh, in which Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were destroyed as they offered strange fire upon the altar—the show signifying the divine vengeance against such idolatry as that of the Romish church. On the 14th of July all the streets of London were new gravelled, as Elizabeth set forth from the Charter-house to Whitechapel, on her progress. The houses

State Carriage of Queen Elizabeth. (From Hoeft's Print of Nonnagh Palace)



were hung with cloth of arras, and carpets, and silk, with cloth of gold and silver, and velvet of all colours. The crafts of London stood in their liveries; and there were trains of pensioners, and knights and lords, and the aldermen in scarlet, and heralds in their coat-armours, and my lord mayor bearing the sceptre, and the lord Hunsdon bearing the sword. Then came the queen, and her footmen richly habited; and ladies and gentlemen, and lords' men and knights' men in their master's liveries; and at Whitechapel my lord mayor and the aldermen took their leave of her grace, and so she went on her way. All these pomps look like profitless vanity. But they were the poetry of the real life of that time; and we may believe that they were not without their influence on the glorious imaginations that have reflected this age in harmonious association with the permanent and the universal.

When Charles IX., a boy eleven years old, succeeded to the crown of France, the religious differences of the people had become so extended that they imparted their character to the political factions of the time. The direction of the government was in the hands of the duke of Guise and the cardinal his brother; who, joined in interests with the queen-mother, were naturally opposed by the princes of the blood, headed by the prince of Condé. The Guises persecuted the Protestants; the other party supported them. The religious wars which divided the French into two great hostile bands of Catholic and Huguenot, now commenced in terrible earnest. There were two fierce armies in the field, by whom the people were alike plundered and harassed. In 1561, according to some writers, a hundred thousand persons were butchered by the contending factions. The Protestants, although inferior in numbers, fought with desperation; and the duke of Guise solicited and obtained assistance against them from Philip of Spain. The prince of Condé, on the other hand, concluded a treaty with Elizabeth, who, after some attempts at mediation, sent a force of three thousand men to take possession of Havre. The queen was at first careful that this should not be deemed an act of hostility to France, declaring to the French ambassador that her desire was to free the young king from the tyranny of the Guises. But the contest soon assumed a national character. The English warlike operations, though conducted with great bravery, were finally unsuccessful. The Catholics and Protestants concluded a hollow peace; and, at length, both parties agreed in determining that the English should hold no position in France. The garrison of Havre defended themselves for two months, and then capitulated. They were released without ransom, and came with their property to London. But they brought with them the pestilence which had thinned their ranks; and the French Catholics looked upon the infliction as a judgment upon the English heretics. In this year, 1563, the parliament again met, and a statute of increased rigour was passed against Papists. This was entitled, "An Act for the assurance of the queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions;" and, with what has been justly called "an iniquitous and sanguinary retrospect," it provided that all persons who had been in holy orders, or taken a degree in the universities, or had practised as lawyers, or held office in the execution of the law, should take the oath of supremacy when tendered to them, under the penalty of a præmunire, and if continuing to refuse for three months, should incur the pains of high treason. The statute was inefficient from its very severity

and although the first penalty was incurred by some of the higher clergy, archbishop Parker warned the bishops, with whom it rested to enforce the oath, to do so with great circumspection, and never to tender it a second time without his special sanction. In 1563, Edmund and Arthur Pole were convicted of a conspiracy to set Mary of Scotland on the throne. Their associates were executed, but they wore out their lives as prisoners in the Tower of London.

In 1563 an Act was passed against "fond and fantastical prophecies."* One description of prophecy that it was declared unlawful to promulgate was that founded upon the armorial bearings of any person. There was a famous prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer which might come within this punishable class:

"However it happen for to fall,
The Lion shall be lord of all;
The French queen shall bear the son
Shall rule all Britain to the sea."†

The predictions which were familiar to the people of Scotland, might have become current on the English side of the border; and the notion that the son of the queen of Scots, "the lion with the floure-de-lyce" would "rule all Britain," would at that period be naturally denounced by the government of Elizabeth as "fond and fantastical," delusive and dangerous. At this time it was feared by the reformers in Scotland, and their fears were communicated to the English court, that intrigues were going forward for marrying Mary to some foreign prince of her own religion. When the Scottish parliament met in 1563 Knox preached a vehement sermon, in which he said that those who would consent that an infidel—for all Papists were infidels—should be head to their sovereign, would do as far as in them lay to banish Christ Jesus from the realm, and to bring God's vengeance on the country. The queen summoned the bold preacher before her, and asked what he had to do with her marriage? Knox repeated the words he had said in public; and, with a passionate burst of tears, Mary commanded him to leave her. There can be little doubt that the queen would have sought a foreign catholic alliance had she not been deterred by the power of the reformers at home, and her apprehensions of giving dire offence to England. Whatever shows of amity might have passed between the queens at this period, their policies were systematically opposed, and contained the germs of hostility. Whilst Elizabeth was lending aid to the Huguenots, and Mary was writing letters to the Council of Trent, in which she professed that if she succeeded to the throne of England she would subject both kingdoms to the apostolic see, there must have been dissimulation on both sides. They were to have met in 1562; but the interview was postponed, as if there were insuperable barriers to a cordial personal agreement. As it was not likely that the queen of Scotland would remain a widow, with princes eager to wed one so beautiful and of such high pretensions, it was the policy of the queen

* 5 Eliz., c. 15.

† Mr. Aytoun, in his notes to "Bothwell, a Poem," has clearly shown that this Scottish prophecy was referred to in a poem by Alexander Scott, addressed to Mary on her return in 1561; and that therefore the belief of Lord Hailes, that it was an interpolation after the death of Elizabeth, is unfounded. Page 232.

of England to induce her to marry an English subject—"some noble person within the kingdom of England, having the qualities and conditions meet for such an alliance."* Lord Robert Dudley, the younger son of the duke of Northumberland, the father of lady Jane Grey, was recommended. It is one of the mysteries connected with the capricious character of all Elizabeth's own matrimonial negotiations and female preferences, that Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, her chief favourite, should have been pressed upon Mary as a husband. But even in that protracted negotiation, it was not the reluctance of Mary to "embase herself," as she thought would be the effect of a marriage with a subject, nor any lingering wish of the queen to retain Leicester as her devoted follower, which prevented it being successfully concluded. Cecil, at the end of 1564, wrote: "I see the queen's majesty very desirous to have my lord of Leicester to be the Scottish queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded, I see her then remiss of her earnestness."† Whilst Mary was always pressing that her succession to the English crown should be recognised by a declaratory Act, Elizabeth was as reluctant to comply; for the eyes of the Roman Catholic party were constantly turned towards Mary as the legitimate branch of the Tudors—the descendant of the daughter of Henry VII., although unrecognised in the will of Henry VIII. "The conditions which are demanded" under this proposed marriage with Leicester were probably such as Elizabeth did not choose to bring too prominently before her subjects. She had a strong dislike even to hear of this question of the succession; and said that Maitland, the Scottish minister, was always, like a death-watch, ringing her knell in her ears. In looking at the delays and evasions about this demand of Mary, it is usual to represent the conduct of Elizabeth as marked by "fraud, falsehood, and selfishness;" and that of Mary as "warm, generous, and confiding."‡ This is an easy mode of disposing of a great and difficult public question. The eagerness of Mary for the recognition, and the reluctance of Elizabeth to grant it, may each be explained by the fact that Mary was the instrument of those who had determined to eradicate the reformed religion, and that Elizabeth was equally resolved to support it. The negotiations for the marriage with Leicester gradually faded away. There was another candidate for Mary's hand, ready at an opportune moment. Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, was the son of the earl of Lennox, by the daughter of Margaret Tudor, queen of Scots, who had married the earl of Angus after the death of her royal husband. The countess of Lennox was the next to Mary in hereditary succession to the English crown. The earl of Lennox had long resided in England as an exile, and in 1564, having returned to Scotland with letters from Elizabeth urging the reversal of his attainder, he was finally restored. Then came his countess and their son to the Scottish court. Darnley arrived on the 13th of February 1565. In a fortnight, Randolph, the English ambassador, had observed the favours which Mary bestowed upon this youth. He soon manifested a preference for the Romish party, and gave offence to the reformers. Within two months of Darnley's arrival an envoy was sent by Mary to desire Elizabeth's approval of her

* Cecil's Instructions to Randolph.

† Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 294.

‡ Tytler, vol. vi. p. 373.

marriage with her cousin. That assent was refused by the Council on the ground that the marriage would be dangerous to the protestant religion; would strengthen the league of catholic princes which was now organising; and that Mary not yet having renounced her claim to the crown of England, this marriage would more imperil Elizabeth's title. That there was danger to the cause of the Reformation in Scotland may be inferred from the fact that lord Murray, who for four years had kept the kingdom in tolerable peace, holding the scales of justice even between bitterly opposing factions, though an earnest friend to the reformers, now withdrew from the court of Mary. The strong resolve with which Murray and other protestants opposed this union must have been founded upon something more than vague apprehensions of the power of a husband over the queen. They dreaded him as an unreasoning tool of her more determined will. Darnley had no force of character. He was a handsome simpleton. Mary had apparently conceived a passion for the tall stripling, whose folly was only equalled by his pride. They were married on the 29th of July, and he was proclaimed king the same day. "They were married with all the solemnities of the popish time, saving that he heard not the mass. . . . Rather he seemeth a monarch of the world than he that not long since we have seen and known the lord Darnley."* The register of marriages in the Canongate has this entry: "Henry and Marie, kyng and qweine of Scots."

The three years which followed this marriage are crowded with strange and tragical events. Romance has seized upon them as its peculiar property, and History has been somewhat too eager to follow in the wake of Romance. The occurrences which had so material an influence upon the destinies of the Scottish and English nations are almost unheeded in their public aspects; and thus the writer who desires to convey a sober view of what truly belongs to the province of the historian finds himself bewildered amidst interminable controversies about the moral character of Mary, and the contradictory evidence as to her participation in the foulest of crimes. We are called upon, according to all precedent, to pronounce upon her guilt or innocence; to hold, with the few, that she was the most shameless and abandoned of women; or, with the many, that she was the pure and guileless victim of the most wicked conspiracies. These three years in which, whether supremely guilty or singularly unfortunate, she underwent far more than a common share of peril and anxiety, present the following salient points: In 1565, on the 29th of July, Mary married Henry Darnley. Murray, who had been her chief adviser since her return from France, headed a revolt, without success, and then took refuge in England, with other reforming leaders. Mary was now free to give the most open encouragement to the Romanists, having the countenance of her imbecile husband. The reforming party was too strong to be permanently resisted; and Mary's husband professed to have adopted their views. Within seven months of his marriage Darnley became jealous of David Riccio, an Italian favourite of the queen, and he with a band of fierce nobles, murdered him in Mary's presence on the 9th of March, 1566. Murray returned to Scotland. The differences between the queen and her husband became notorious. James Bothwell was now Mary's chief adviser.

* Randolph to Leicester. Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 201.

In 1567, on the 10th of February, Darnley was murdered in a lone house in Edinburgh, called the Kirk of Field, and Bothwell was accused of the murder, but was acquitted. On the 24th of April he carried off the queen to one of his castles, and she was married to him on the 15th of May. The nobles now took up arms; and, in little more than two months from this last marriage, Mary was compelled to resign her crown, and was a prisoner at Lochleven. Mary's resignation of her crown to her infant son, who was born June 19th, 1566, took place on the 24th of July, 1567. After nine months' imprisonment in the castle of Lochleven, she escaped on the 2nd of May, 1568. Her Roman Catholic friends assembled an army, which encountered that of Murray the regent, on the 13th of May; and the queen's supporters being defeated, she fled to England, and landed in Cumberland on the 15th of May. We shall endeavour to tell this story as impartially as we can, keeping in view, as much as possible, its national bearings, rather than entering into the minute details of a personal history which, even when viewed under the most favourable light, is sufficiently painful and revolting.

Mary was in her twenty-third year when she married, and Darnley was nineteen. The dissatisfaction of Murray and the other reformers was so great at the prospects involved in this marriage that they had been making preparations to oppose it by direct resistance in arms. Within three days of the nuptial ceremony Murray was commanded to appear at court, or to be proclaimed a rebel. If we may credit one party-representation of the troubles of this period, we must believe that the ambition of Murray and his followers, stimulated by the intrigues of England, was the sole cause of the opposition to this union. If we are to trust in another view of the matter, we must consider that the resistance of the lords was founded upon a sincere belief that Mary, in taking a husband of her own religious persuasion, who would give additional strength to her will, and to the desire of her foreign relations to re-establish the Roman Catholic ascendancy, was perilling the great interests of the Reformation. We must bear in mind not only the character of those times, but the peculiar temper of the Scottish people, to enable us to form a right judgment of the actions of the two great parties in the state. The Reformation in England had attained its consistency, step by step; and having passed through its most perilous crisis under Mary Tudor, had become the established religion of the country, never to be seriously shaken. It had attained this position by a cautious adaptation to popular usages and opinions—a graft upon the ancient stock rather than the forced growth of a new plant taking the place of the old decaying tree. The Reformation in Scotland was, from the first, a negation. Whatever was Protestant was to be diametrically opposed to Catholic. Old things were to be destroyed before new things could be established. Whatever made the slightest approach to the ceremonies of the earlier church was idolatry. Whatever, in a stern refusal to comply with habits either harmless or indifferent, was opposed to the practice of the Romanists, was true religion. The character of the queen, as exhibited under its most innocent aspects, was an offence to this severe judgment. Her general cheerfulness, her fondness for the chase, her balls and masquerades, her love of poetry and music, were represented as sins. It is scarcely to be wondered at, however to be lamented, that she often acted in defiance of a prudent decorum. It is less a matter of surprise that she had a deep

hatred of the Reformers, and entertained a vague desire for a political alliance that would free her from the control of her Protestant subjects, and from the supervision of England. In the first four years of her personal rule in Scotland she yielded to the strong power that was over her. She would not surrender her own habits of ceremonial religion to what had become the prevailing faith of the majority of her subjects; but she abstained from any rash attempts to interfere with the course they were following. Had she been less cautious her fall would have been more immediate. But, supported probably by the avowed determination of France and Spain to uproot Protestantism—probably stimulated by the growing coldness, if not enmity, between herself and Elizabeth, and by the idle belief that the English Catholics would support her pretensions to the crown which she claimed as the legitimate descendant of Henry VII.,—she grew bolder upon the occasion of her marriage, and resolved, not indeed to persecute the Reformers in Scotland, but only to tolerate them. Cecil, in August 1565, wrote thus to the English ambassador in France:—"The duke [Chatelherault], the earls of Argyle, Murray, and Rothes, with sundry barons, are joined together, not to allow of the marriage otherwise than to have the religion established by law; but the queen refuseth in this sort—she will not suffer it to have the force of law, but of permission to every man to live according to his conscience." The great minister adds, "And herewith she hath retained a great number of Protestants from associating openly with the other." The leading Reformers knew that the queen's rejection of the legal establishment of their religion would be its destruction amongst a people whose inborn habit was to take one of two sides. If Protestantism ceased to be regarded as "established by law," Catholicism would come back to be so established. The Reformers would not accept this toleration, and they rose in arms. Murray was proclaimed a rebel. "She hath put the earl of Murray to the horn," writes Cecil. His life and estates were declared forfeited, by sound of horn.

Mary, who had caused Darnley to be proclaimed king upon the occasion of their marriage, was desirous that the Scottish parliament should bestow upon him the crown-matrimonial. Chastelherault, who was next to Mary in succession, was offended at this, and took part with Murray. This able man, with kingly blood in his veins, is held to have had himself designs upon the crown. The sundry barons are reputed to have opposed Mary, lest with the re-establishment of the Romish religion they should lose their church-lands. Elizabeth envied Mary, as lord Herries writes, "the comfort of a husband and the happiness of children." These are the base and sordid motives which are assigned as the impelling causes of the opposition to the queen at this juncture. It is singular that some of the Scottish historians, and some English, will not allow anything for the strength of a great principle; and constantly present to us the ministers of England as base intriguers and the Scottish statesmen as anti-national mercenaries. Elizabeth sent an envoy to Mary, to endeavour to promote her reconciliation with Murray. There were cold and sarcastic words delivered by Tamworth, Elizabeth's messenger, and haughty answers returned by Mary. She engaged for herself and her husband that they would attempt nothing to the prejudice of the queen of England; but she required that the English crown should be settled by Act of parliament upon herself and Darnley; and that Elizabeth should afford no countenance

to Scottish rebels. It is held that Murray was countenanced and assisted by Elizabeth, though to a very limited extent. Mary showed her vigour of character at this crisis. She took the field with her forces; and headed her troops with pistols at her saddle-bow. The revolt was crushed without any decisive contest. The rebel lords transmitted to the English government a declaration that they were persecuted as traitors for their zeal for true religion, and for their attempt to redress "the great enormities lately crept into the public regimen of this miserable commonwealth." They affirmed that the efforts of Mary and Darnley were solely directed to the subversion of the reformed religion within the realm, and the re-establishment of "superstition and papistry." There was ample foundation for this assertion. The Roman see had sent money to Mary; and Philip II. had placed twenty thousand crowns in the hands of his ambassador at London, to be employed "with secrecy and address, in the support of the Scottish queen and her husband." That the English government knew well that the combinations for the restoration of Catholicism in Scotland were connected with the pretensions of Mary to the throne filled by the Protestant Elizabeth, is evident from its incessant watchfulness over every indication of Mary's projects. It was a measure of self-defence to hold a steadfast alliance with the Scottish Reformers. There would be intrigue and dissimulation in pursuing this policy; but that Elizabeth was actuated by a mere womanly jealousy of Mary, as we are asked to believe, and that her ministers causelessly sought to embroil Scotland, is the dream of a very weak prejudice, which assumes the garb of a poetical nationality. Elizabeth is held to have dissembled when, Murray having fled to her court, she "spoke very roundly to him, before the ambassadors, that whatsoever the world said or reported of her, she would by her actions let it appear, that she would not, for the price of a world, maintain any subject in any disobedience against a prince."* The right divine of princes was too deeply rooted in her thoughts to carry her beyond a certain point of opposition to her most dangerous enemy. In this she spoke her true mind.

In the declaration of the banished lords to the English government, they complained that two crafty Italians, David Riccio and Francisco, with other unworthy persons, had dispossessed the ancient nobility of their place in the queen's council. Riccio, a Milanese, had been a singer in Mary's service, and was afterwards promoted to the office of her private secretary. He had soon acquired considerable influence; had been assiduous in promoting Darnley's marriage; and when Mary's first passionate love for that weak young man had given way to contempt for his follies and vices, Riccio became her chief adviser in place of the husband she had chosen. At the beginning of 1566 Randolph, the English ambassador, wrote to Cecil that the Protestants were in such fear and doubt that they knew not what shall become of them; and that the wisest desire nothing more than the return of the banished lords.† There were agencies at work to inspire the Protestants with still greater dread. There came from France an envoy of the cardinal Lorraine, and a messenger from the Scottish ambassador. They had high powers entrusted to them. They were to oppose the recall of the banished

* Memorandum of Cecil, in Raumer, p. 70.

† Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 206.

lords; they were to induce Mary to sign the "Bond" which had been concluded, under the auspices of Catherine de Medici and the duke of Alva, for the extermination of the Protestants in Europe. "Riccio, who at this moment possessed much influence, and was on good grounds suspected to be a pensioner of Rome, seconded these views with all his power." * Mary did join this league; did become a party to the dark conspiracy, whose grand result was the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France, and which, but for the wisdom of Elizabeth and her counsellors, might have produced a St. Bartholomew in England. The passionate impulses of Mary were equally the safety of Scotland. She was unfitted for the conduct of a policy which would cherish its schemes of vengeance, and smile upon its devoted victims, as in France, until thousands could be cut off as if they had but one neck. Mary had strong hatreds, but she looked only at individuals for their gratification. Murray and his adherents were the objects of her wrath in 1565; when she "declared to Randolph that she would rather peril her crown than lose her revenge." † Deeper offences than rebellion were now to agitate her. Darnley had been displaced from her confidence, and perhaps justly so. Riccio was her most cherished counsellor. Darnley used to sign his name to public documents as king, before that of Mary. The queen now signed her name, and Riccio was provided with a stamp to add that of Darnley. The weak young man abandoned himself to drinking; quarrelled with the queen in public; was persuaded that Riccio was the instigator of his humiliations; and, says Mr. Tytler, "had the folly to become the dupe of a more absurd delusion—he became jealous of the Italian secretary." The absurdity of this jealousy must be estimated by the general impression as to Mary's character. In the unhappy affair of Chastellart, three years before, Randolph pointed out "what mischief ensues of the over great familiarity that any such personage sheweth unto so unworthy a creature and abject a varlet, as even her grace used with him." ‡ The man was hanged for the presumption which this "over great familiarity" encouraged. Mary brought to Scotland the indiscretions of the French court, if not its vices; and her education in this school of impurity may suggest some apology for the imprudences which her warmest advocates cannot wholly defend. No one doubts that the deportment of Riccio was calculated to excite the suspicion of a neglected husband, and the hatred of those who saw his influence over the queen employed for their personal abasement and the subversion of their religious opinions. The common desire for revenge associated Darnley with some of the fierce Scottish nobles, such as Morton and Ruthven, in a conspiracy against the life of the obnoxious secretary. The king was engaged with the superior Protestant leaders, in a separate bond for the restoration of the banished lords, upon their promise to support him and to give him the crown-matrimonial. They were to maintain the protestant religion as one of the conditions of this alliance. Mixing up these separate contracts, "for the murder of Riccio, the restoration of Murray, and the revolution in the government," we are told that "one only step remained: to communicate the plot to the queen of England and her ministers, and to obtain their

* Tytler's Scotland, vol. vii. p. 19.

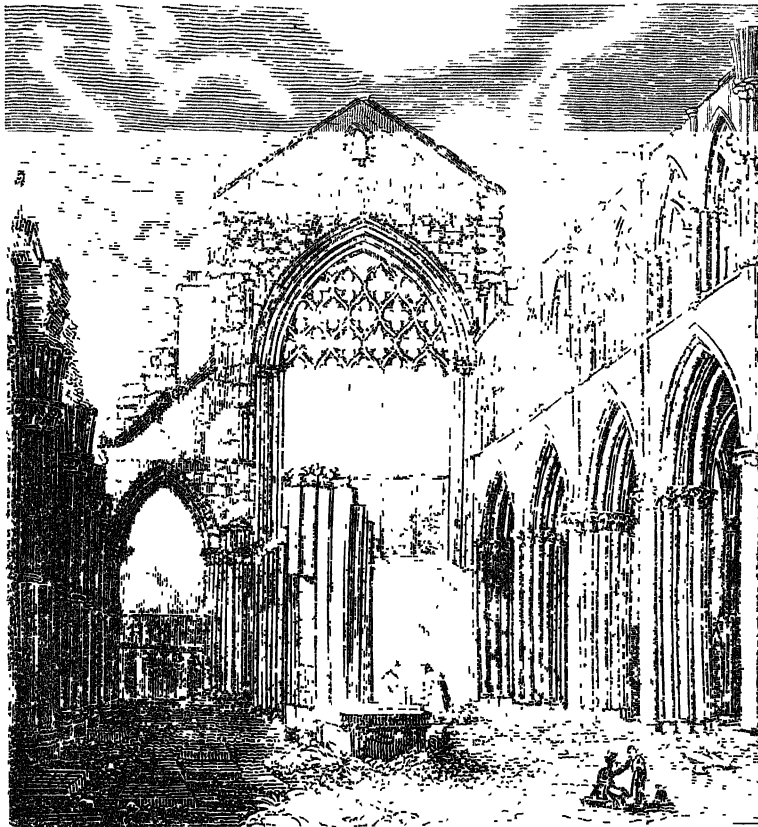
† *Ibid.*, p. 8.

‡ Raumer, p. 21.

approval and support.”* On the 6th of March the earl of Bedford and Randolph wrote to Cecil, from Berwick, of the jars between the queen and her husband, “for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of herself as altogether is intolerable to be borne; which, if it were not overwell known, we would both be very loth to think that it could be true. To take away this occasion of slander he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonour that can be to any man, much more being as he is.” They then enclose the copies of “Conditions for the earls to perform to their king,” and “Conditions to be performed by the king of Scots to the earls.” Bedford and Randolph thus communicate to their government that the king of Scots has determined personally to revenge himself on the man who has dishonoured him; and that he has covenanted with the Protestant leaders in Scotland and England to accomplish their recall, on the condition of receiving their support in his desire for the crown-matrimonial. A political revolution was to be accomplished against the Roman Catholic ascendancy, to which ascendancy the queen of Scots had lent herself. It was to be accomplished before the meeting of parliament, in which the Romanist interests would have succeeded in confiscating the estates of Murray, Rothes, Grange, and the other lords who had fled to England; and probably would have attempted the re-establishment of the ancient religion. Bedford and Randolph add that “persuasions” would be tried with the queen; but if they did no good, “they propose to proceed we know not in what sort.” If she attempted to raise a power at home, she was to be withstood; if she sought any foreign support, the aid of England was to be asked. In this communication to the English government we can scarcely see any ground for the charges which it is held to raise against the conduct of Elizabeth. It proves, says Mr. Tytler, that the queen of England had the most precise intimation of the intended murder of Riccio. He should have added, as the personal act of Darnley. It proves, we are further told, that it was intended to put an end to Murray’s banishment, to replace him in power; and by one decided and triumphant blow to destroy the schemes which were in agitation for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland. It is held that Elizabeth ought to have imprisoned Murray, discomfited the plans of the conspirators, saved the life of the victim marked for slaughter, and preserved Mary from captivity, “if she had been alive to the common feelings of humanity.” This view of the duty of Elizabeth and her government arises out of the desire to treat such questions as personal ones, entirely separated from a great political principle. If it were safe for England that the queen of Scots should be supported in her alliances with those who sought, in the destruction of Elizabeth, the extinction of Protestantism in Britain, then the English queen might have been what is called magnanimous. She interfered not; and the Protestant nobles and preachers were not swept from the island. But all such reasoning upon the letter of Bedford and Randolph is wholly beside the mark. The date of this communication to the English court of the approaching political revolution has not been heeded, in the eager desire to blame Elizabeth and her ministers for not

* Tytler, vol. vii. p. 29.

having saved Riccio, and prevented the banished lords from returning to Scotland. The letter of Bedford and Randolph to Cecil was written from Berwick on the 6th of March. It enjoined the strictest secresy. It was the first intimation of "a matter of no small consequence being intended in Scotland." With extraordinary despatch Cecil might have received that letter on the 8th of March. On the night of the 9th, Riccio was murdered. On the 11th, Murray and the banished lords were in Edinburgh. When Murray was safe at Berwick on the 8th of March, ready to step across the border, he sent his secretary with a letter to Cecil to tell him of his plans.



Interior of Holyrood Chapel.

That Elizabeth or her ministers could, in consequence of these communications from Berwick, have prevented the catastrophe of the 9th, or detained Murray till the Scottish parliament, which met on the 4th, had passed a statute of treason against him and the other banished lords, will be difficult to establish in the face of these dates, to which the able historian of Scotland, in many respects so candid, has shut his eyes.

It is about an hour after sunset on Saturday, the 9th of March, when the court of Holyrood Palace is suddenly filled with armed men, and the glare of torches lights up the old monastic walls. This band, in number a hundred and fifty, is led by the earls of Morton and Lindsay. They close the outer gates; and the inmates of Holyrood are in their power. Bedford and Randolph, in a letter to the Council of England, give the most circumstantial relation of the events which immediately followed: "The king conveyeth himself, the lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and two other, through his own chamber by the privy stairs up to the queen's chamber, joining to which there is a cabinet about twelve feet square, in the same a little low reposing bed, and a table, at the which there were sitting at the supper the queen, the lady Argyle, and David, with his cap upon his head. Into the cabinet there cometh in the king and lord Ruthven, who willed David to come forth, saying that there was no place for him. The queen said that it was her will; her husband answered that it was against her honour. The lord Ruthven said that he should learn better his duty, and offering to have taken him by the arm, David took the queen by the plaits of her gown and put himself behind the queen, who would gladly have saved him; but the king having loosed his hands, and holding her in his arms, David was thrust out of the cabinet through the bed-chamber into the Chamber of Presence, where were the lord Morton, lord Lindsay, who intending that night to have reserved him and the next day to hang him, so many being about them that bore him evil will, one thrust him into the body with a dagger, and after him a great many other, so that he had in his body above fifty-five wounds. It is told for certain that the king's own dagger was left sticking in him. Whether he stroke him or not we cannot know for certain. He was not slain in the queen's presence, as was said, but going down the stairs out of the Chamber of Presence."* There is a letter from queen Mary herself to her ambassador in Paris, which, in the main circumstances, agrees with this account. But Mary says, that when Ruthven addressed Riccio, she asked her husband if he knew anything of this attempt; adding, "and on his denying it, we commanded lord Ruthven, on pain of treason, to quit our presence, while Riccio had sought shelter behind us." She then briefly tells of the murder in the ante-chamber, and says that immediately after the deed Ruthven returned, and upbraided her with tyranny, and her submission to the counsels of Riccio. But the letter of Bedford and Randolph details a frightful scene of violence between Darnley and the queen, in which he reproached her with infidelity, and said that "for her honour and his own contentment he gave his consent that *he* should be taken away." She replied, "Well; you have taken your last of me, and your farewell." Ruthven remonstrated, and said that Riccio "was mean, base, enemy to the nobility, shame to her, and destruction to her grace's country." She rejoined: "Well; it shall be dear blood to some of you if his be spilt." This account exhibits a most characteristic group: "Her husband this time speaketh little. Her grace continually weepeth. The lord Ruthven being evil at ease, and weak, calleth for a drink, and saith, 'This I must do with your majesty's pardon.'" The queen in a letter to the ambassador says, that against certain of her

* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 209.

nobility, maintainers of her authority, who were in the palace at the time, "the enterprise was conspired as well as for David." These were Huntley and Bothwell; who escaped by ropes out of a back window; Atholl, Fleming, Livingston, Balfour, and Melvil, who also escaped. The concluding scene of that Saturday night is thus described by the queen: "The provost and town of Edinburgh having understood this tumult in our palace, caused ring their common bell, came to us in great number, and desired to have seen our presence, intercommuned with us, and to have known our welfare." But she was prevented speaking with these anxious citizens, "being extremely bested by those lords, who in our face declared if we desired to have spoken with them, they should cut us in collops, and cast us over the wall." The next day Murray arrived in Edinburgh. At his first interview with Mary he is said to have expressed great solicitude for her welfare, and she to have manifested a confidence in his affection. This reconciliation was very transient. At a meeting of the conspirators against Riccio, with the lords who had returned to Scotland, strong measures were determined on as regarded the queen: "In their council," says Mary, "they thought it most expedient we should be warded in our castle of Stirling, there to remain while we had approved in parliament of all their wicked enterprises, established their religion, and given to the king the crown-matrimonial and the whole government of our realm." But in a few days Mary, who had subdued her weak husband to her will, persuaded him to fly with her at midnight to Dunbar. Whatever were the intentions of the conspirators towards her she was now out of their power. She soon gathered a large force around her; and marching upon Edinburgh, issued writs of treason against Morton, Ruthven, and others, who fled to England. Murray denied all complicity in the murder of Riccio; and Darnley took refuge in denouncing those with whom he had been associated, as traitors and murderers. They retaliated upon his baseness in a manner that in eleven months led to another more fearful catastrophe. On the 4th of April Randolph writes to Cecil, "the queen hath now seen all the covenants and bonds that passed between the king and the lords; and now findeth that his declaration before her and the council, of his innocency of the death of David, was false." From the hour of that disclosure Darnley was a doomed man.

On the 19th of June, 1566, Mary gave birth to the son who was afterwards king of Scotland and of England. The differences between the various factions now began to be composed. Amicable relations with England were established. Elizabeth agreed to be godmother to the heir of the Scottish throne, and sent a golden font for his baptism. In November, Mary renewed her claim to have a parliamentary recognition of her right of succession to the English crown, in a letter written by her to the lords of Elizabeth's council; but she stated her unwillingness "to press our said good sister further than shall come of her own good pleasure to put that matter in question." The English parliament, which had met in the beginning of November, had begun to debate about the succession; and, says Camden, "on the one side the Papists propounded unto themselves the queen of Scots, which had newly brought forth a son; on the other, the Protestants, with different affections, propounded to themselves, some one man, some another." Mary alludes to this debate in her letter. Elizabeth was angry at the discussion of this matter; but in her

instructions to Bedford, who was to be present at the baptism of James, she had, immediately previous to receiving Mary's letter, authorised him to declare that she would never suffer anything to be done prejudicial to Mary's right; but required that she should confirm so much of the treaty of Edinburgh as regarded Elizabeth's rights: "The same being, since deferred upon account of some words therein prejudicial to the queen's right and title, before all others, after us, our meaning is to require nothing to be confirmed in that treaty but that which directly appertains to us and our children; omitting anything in that treaty that may be prejudicial to her title as next heir of us and our children." It was added that all this might be secured by a new treaty. Mary was in no hurry to embrace this reasonable proposal; and nothing was done to complete such an engagement, without which, Elizabeth said, "though we are inclined to preserve amity, yet occasions may happen to incline either of us to be jealous one of another." The occasions of jealousy were never removed.

On the 17th of December the baptism of the infant prince took place at Stirling, according to the Roman Catholic ritual. Darnley, although living in the palace, refused to attend the ceremony. Between himself and the queen there was not only coldness but manifest dislike. Mary was profoundly melancholy; and Darnley was proud and moody. A remarkable man, James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, had now become Mary's most intimate counsellor. She had recently manifested a more than common interest in his welfare. Bothwell had been dangerously wounded in an attempt to arrest Elliot of the Park, a border depredator; and he was carried to his castle of the Hermitage. The queen had been engaged for a week holding a court of justice at Jedburgh, whilst Bothwell was slowly recovering from his wound; and on one day she rode to Hermitage and back, a distance altogether of forty miles. She was accompanied by Murray and others, but the visit gave occasion to scandal, upon which the historians unfavourable to Mary have not failed to dwell. After this interview the queen became dangerously ill; and the melancholy which subsequently settled upon her was frequently expressed by her exclamation, "I could wish to be dead!" A divorce was proposed to her by Bothwell, Murray, and other counsellors; and it has been affirmed upon the confession of Ormiston, a confederate, that a bond for the murder of the king was executed about the same time by several of these persons. The mysteries of this period of dark intrigues and daring plots will never be satisfactorily disclosed, and the precise degree of guilt to be attached to individuals will remain unsettled. Let us briefly relate the ascertained circumstances of the momentous crime that was perpetrated on the 10th of February, 1567.

At the end of 1566 Mary had consented to pardon Morton, Lindsay, and others, with two exceptions, who had been concerned in the murder of Riccio. Darnley dreaded the return of the fellow-conspirators with whom he had broken faith; and he abruptly left the court, and went to his father, the earl of Lennox, at Glasgow. Morton, one of the pardoned nobles, returned to Scotland early in January, 1567. Darnley had fallen sick of a disease which was said to be the small-pox; and on the 22nd of January, Mary proceeded to Glasgow to visit him. Some explanation took place between them, and Darnley agreed to attend the queen to Craigmillar, by slow journeys, she having brought a litter for his conveyance. There is a deposition of Thomas

Crawford, a gentleman attending upon Lennox, in which he relates a conversation between Darnley and himself, in which Crawford said, "She treats your majesty too like a prisoner. Why should you not be taken to one of your own houses at Edinburgh?" Darnley replied, "It struck me much the same way; and I have fears enough, but may God judge between us. I have her promise only to trust to; but I have put myself in her hands, and I shall go with her, though she should murder me."* The plan of going to Craigmillar was changed, and Darnley was carried to Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 31st of January. Holyrood was declared to be unhealthy, from its low situation; and the king was taken to a suburb called the Kirk of Field, where the duke of Chastelherault had a residence. The attendants were about to convey Darnley to the duke's mansion, when Mary said his apartments were to be in an adjoining house, to which she conducted him. It was a mean building belonging to Robert Balfour, one of Bothwell's dependants. The queen daily attended upon Darnley, and appeared assiduous in promoting his comfort, amidst the rude domestic arrangements which this lodging afforded. Below the chamber where he slept she had one prepared for herself. On Sunday, the 9th of February, Mary passed much of the day with her husband, who is represented as having had his apprehensions of danger somewhat removed by her presence, and by the appearance of renewed confidence between them. On the evening of that Sunday, the queen went to Holyrood, to celebrate by a masque the wedding of Bastian, a foreigner of her household, with one of her favorite attendants. Bothwell was present at the festivities of the palace; but he left about midnight. Darnley had gone to rest, after repeating the 55th Psalm, his page being in his bedroom. At two o'clock in the morning of the 10th a loud explosion roused the inhabitants of Edinburgh from their sleep; and the terrified citizens soon learnt that the Kirk of Field had been blown up and that the king was dead. The house was completely destroyed. Mary has herself described the extent of the destruction: "The house wherein the king was lodged was in an instant blown in the air, he lying sleeping in his bed, with a vehemency that, of the whole lodging, walls and other, there is nothing remaining—no, not a stone above another, but all carried far away, or dung in dross to the very ground-stone."† But the body of the king was not amongst these ruins. It was found lying under a tree in an orchard, about eighty yards from the house; and the body of his page was lying beside him. The account which Buchanan gives of this circumstance agrees with the general evidence: "The king had only a linen shirt on the upper part of his body; the rest of it lay naked. His other clothes and his shoes lay just by him. The common people came in great crowds to see him, and many conjectures there were; yet they all agreed that he could never be thrown out of the house by the force of gunpowder, for there was no part broken, bruised, or black and blue about his body, which must necessarily have happened in a ruin by gunpowder. Besides, his clothes that lay near him were not so much as singed with the flame, or covered with any ashes."‡ It appears probable that

* Tytler, vol. vii. p. 78. Mr. Tytler says that he has not been able to discover any sufficient ground to doubt the truth of this deposition.

† Letter to Beaton. *Dung* is the preterite of *ding*, to strike down violently.

‡ Buchanan's "History of Scotland," translated by Bond, vol. ii. p. 323.

Darnley was strangled in the orchard, as he hurriedly attempted to escape, and that his page shared his fate. The bodies of four of his servants were found in the ruins. Herries gives a circumstantial relation that Darnley and his attendant were strangled by Bothwell and his accomplices, in the bedroom; and being carried out by them by a back-gate, they fired some barrels of powder which they had put in a room below the king's chamber, and so blew up the house. This was the room which the queen had occupied; and according to the confessions of two servants who brought the powder, it was deposited in that room whilst Mary was with her husband above. An opinion has been expressed, with great plausibility, that the gunpowder, brought in a mail and trunk, was insufficient to destroy the house as it was destroyed; that the walls had been undermined by another set of conspirators; that Bothwell was uninformed of this, and was left to take his own course; and that "in consequence, he was looked upon as the sole deviser of the murder, which, however, there are strong reasons for believing was not perpetrated by his means." * This opinion opens up the great question of the guilt or innocence of the queen—the question which we shall have briefly to notice when we come to the judicial examinations which followed Mary's flight to England. Meanwhile, no one has attempted to deny that Bothwell was deeply concerned in this crime; that his servants placed the powder under Darnley's chamber; that he left the palace at midnight, and "went straight to the Kirk of Field, up Roblock's Wynd;" † that he returned to the palace under cover of the night; and that when a servant rushed into his chamber to tell the news of the catastrophe, he started up in well feigned terror and cried "Treason." Mary was made acquainted with the event by Bothwell and Huntley, two of the conspirators, and she shut herself up in her chamber, as one lost in grief.

Two days elapsed before any public steps were taken to discover the perpetrators of this deed. Then a proclamation was issued offering a large reward. Placards were soon displayed in the city denouncing Bothwell, James Balfour, and others, as the murderers. Mary removed to the seat of lord Seaton. Darnley was buried with great privacy; and his father made ineffectual solicitations to the queen that she should take steps for the immediate apprehension of those named in the placards. Bothwell continued about the queen, having the chief management of public affairs; and the Court at Seaton was occupied with somewhat ill-timed amusements. The opportunities for a searching inquiry into the circumstances of the murder were passing away. Some of the inferior agents who were suspected were leaving Scotland. Bothwell rode through the streets of Edinburgh with fifty guards; passionately declaring, that if he knew the authors of the placards he would wash his hands in their blood. The chief nobles, including Murray, absented themselves from court, as if in disgust. Even Beaton, the queen's ambassador at Paris, wrote to her in the following plain terms: "Of this deed, if I should write all that is spoken here, and also in England, of the miserable estate of the realm by the dishonour of the nobility, mistrust and treason of your whole subjects,—yea, that yourself is greatly and wrongously calumniated to be the motive principal of the whole, and all

* W. E. Aytoun, Notes to "Bothwell," p. 263.

† Herries.

done by your command,—I can conclude nothing besides that which your majesty writes to me yourself that since it hath pleased God to preserve you to take a rigorous vengeance thereof, that rather than it be not actually taken, it appears to me better, in this world, that you had lost life and all.” Mary did not do what this honest adviser exhorted her to do—“that you do such justice as the whole world may declare your innocence.” She received from Elizabeth a message of condolence and advice; and she promised the queen of England’s envoy that Bothwell should be brought to an open trial. But she immediately admitted the guilty man to greater favour than ever; bestowed upon him new marks of her confidence, such as the custody of Edinburgh castle; and enabled him so to strengthen himself, that the promised trial was a mockery and an imposture. No one dared to accuse the man who commanded all the military power of the state. The father of Darnley now besought Mary to delay the trial, so that the accused should be less able to control its issue by force. He applied to Elizabeth, who exhorted her sister-queen to listen to so reasonable a request. The provost-marshal of Berwick arrived with Elizabeth’s letter on the 12th of April, the day appointed for the trial. The city was wholly in the power of Bothwell, who had four thousand of his followers in the streets and the court of the palace. The castle was under his command. Bothwell’s armed men surrounded the Tolbooth, where the trial was to take place. Lennox was commanded to enter Edinburgh with no more than six attendants, and he naturally shrunk from the danger that appeared imminent, and declined to appear in person. A gentleman, on his part, boldly re-iterated the charge against Bothwell, but requested delay. There was no accuser and no evidence, and a verdict of acquittal was pronounced. The parliament confirmed the acquittal. Murray had returned to France. Bothwell received new marks of the queen’s favour; and his ultimate elevation was anticipated by the signatures of many nobles to a bond, in which they recommended him as a suitable husband for the queen. But some of the most important men in Scotland were roused by the insolence of the favorite and the infatuation of Mary; who, according to a letter written by sir William Kirkaldy, the laird of Grange, to the earl of Bedford, had said, with reference to Bothwell,—“She cared not to lose France, England, and her own country for him, and shall go with him to the world’s end in a white petticoat, before she leave him.”* The indignation of the people was soon completed by a most extraordinary proceeding. The queen had been on the 21st of April to Stirling, to see her child. As she was returning to Edinburgh, on the 24th, she was surrounded by a great band of Bothwell’s followers, to the number of eight hundred, led by him; and was conducted, as if by force, to his castle of Dunbar. Grange, on the 26th, addressed a letter to Bedford, in which he accuses Mary of complicity in this seizure, “to the end that she may sooner end the marriage whilk she promised before she caused Bothwell murder her husband.” Proceedings for a collusive divorce between Bothwell and his wife, the lady Jané Gordon, were hurried through the courts. Craig, a protestant minister, was ordered to proclaim the banns of matrimony between the queen and Bothwell, which he did in the High Church, adding, “I take Heaven and earth to witness that

* Letter in State Paper Office, Tytler, vol. vii. p. 106.

I abhor and detest this marriage." On the 12th of May the queen came to Edinburgh, and created Bothwell duke of Orkney and Shetland. On the 15th they were married. If there could be happiness in such an union it was quickly over. The French ambassador, within a fortnight after, wrote to Catherine de Medici, "On Thursday the queen sent for me, when I perceived



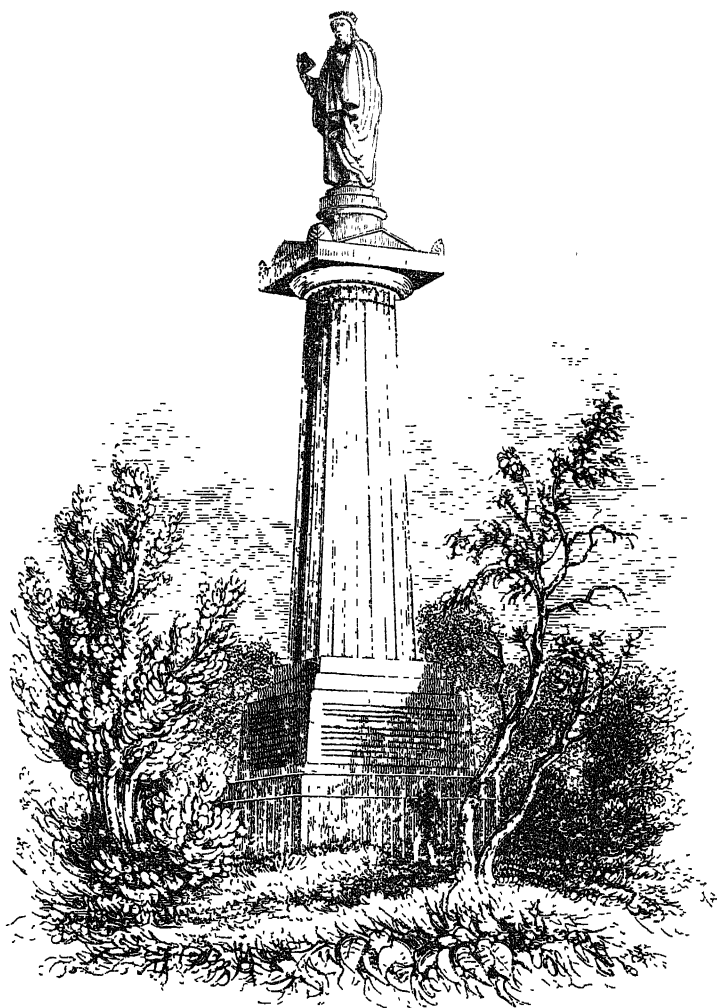
Sketch of Mary, Queen of Scots, at Culbarr-hill From the ancient print published by the Society of Antiquaries

something strange in the mutual behaviour of her and her husband. She attempted to excuse it, and said, 'If you see me melancholy, it is because I do not choose to be cheerful; because I never will be so, and wish for nothing but death.' " * It is related that she was treated with indignity by the man

* Raumer, p. 99.

for whom she had sacrificed her peace of mind and her reputation ; and that on one occasion when she had been subjected to his insults, she called aloud for a knife to stab herself.

A confederacy of nobles was soon formed, with the declared intention of putting down the power of Bothwell. He and the queen were at Borthwick castle, about ten miles from Edinburgh, when the place was surrounded by an armed force. Bothwell escaped by a postern, and reached his own castle of Dunbar. Mary fled, disguised as a man, and joined her new husband in his fortress. The confederates secured the capital. The queen called her followers round the royal banner at Dunbar ; and on the 14th of June advanced with a considerable force towards Edinburgh. She entrenched herself on Carberry-hill—a place remarkable as the position which the English held before the battle of Pinkie. On Sunday the 15th the confederates marched out of Edinburgh ; and the two armies were soon in presence of each other. Bothwell sent by a herald his personal defiance of any one who accused him of Darnley's murder. The challenge was accepted by Lindsay ; but Mary forbade the encounter. Her own army began to desert her, and a general panic soon ensued. The queen demanded a parley. Grange came to meet her, and tendered the obedience of the lords in arms if Bothwell were dismissed. She did dismiss him. There was a brief farewell ; and they met no more. He became a pirate and an outcast. Mary was conducted to the camp of the confederates ; and she soon perceived that she was a prisoner. "Give me your hand," she said to Lindsay ; and placing her delicate fingers in his rough palm, she exclaimed, "By the hand which is now in yours, I'll have your head for this." Riding between Athol and Morton, she was conducted into Edinburgh amidst the execrations of an infuriated populace. The soldiers carried a banner, on which was painted the body of the murdered Darnley lying under the tree near the Kirk of Field, and a child kneeling beside it, with the legend, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord." This terrible flag was paraded before her ; and when she awoke next morning, and looked out of the window of the provost's house in which she had been lodged, the same dreadful representation was hung up to meet her first gaze. In her despair she attempted to address the people, who were moved to some pity at her agony. That day she was carried as a prisoner to Lochleven.



Monument to Knox, at Glasgow

CHAPTER X.

Mary compelled to resign the Crown—Murray accepts the Regency—Escape of Mary from Lochleven—Circumstances of her escape—Battle of Langsyde—Mary takes refuge in England—Mary's detention in England—Conferences of York and London—Mary placed under charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury—Anxiety for her safe custody—The duke of Norfolk and Mary—Lady Catherine Grey.

THE captivity of queen Mary was the signal for the return of John Knox to Scotland. If he were not privy to the conspiracy for the assassination of

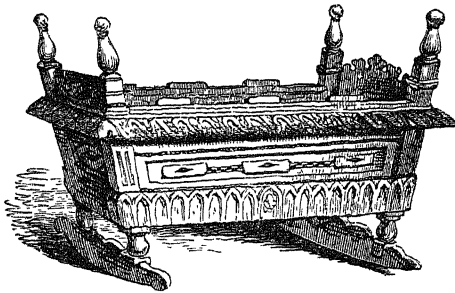
David Riccio, he did not withhold his satisfaction at an event which he considered essential to the safety of religion and the good of the commonwealth. He had fled from Edinburgh when Mary was in a condition to revenge that murder. He came back when she was a prisoner, to urge the strongest measures against her; grounding "the lawfulness to punish her upon Scripture history, the laws of the realm, and her coronation oath."* The confederacy against Mary and Bothwell was known as the Secret Council. Knox heartily embraced their cause; stipulating that the Reformed religion should be restored to the position in which it was placed by the parliament of 1560. After various attempts to persuade Mary to renounce Bothwell, Knox "thundered out cannon-hot against her."† Morton told Throckmorton, the English ambassador, that he could not do for the queen what he wished; but was obliged to give way to the zeal of the clergy and the people. Elizabeth, no doubt with sincerity, was remonstrating against the confinement and proposed deposition of Mary; but she was, at the same time, not prepared to take any strong measures of forcible interference for her safety. The unhappy queen was hemmed about with violent enemies and doubtful friends. Elizabeth charged her ambassador to insist that subjects were not to be judges of a sovereign;—it was "contrary to Scripture and unreasonable, that the head should be subject to the foot." Knox, Buchanan, Craig, and other preachers boldly maintained, and it was "a public speech amongst the people," that "their queen hath no more liberty nor privilege to commit murder nor adultery than any other private person, neither by God's laws nor by the laws of the realm." The people were inflamed to the highest fury. Mary's life appeared in danger, and she talked of seeking refuge in a French nunnery. The General Assembly of the Church united with the lords of the Secret Council in desiring the queen to be brought to trial, and, if found guilty, to be put to death; "and there seemed every probability that this dreadful result was about to take place, had it not been for the interference of Throckmorton."‡ Murray was absent in France. At last, another course was resolved upon. Lord Lindsay, under whose severe custody she had been five weeks at Lochleven castle, and who had come to the capital to attend the General Assembly, now returned to the queen with three instruments to which her signature was demanded; whose tenour was, to resign the crown in favour of her son; to appoint Murray regent of the realm during her son's infancy; and to constitute certain lords regents till Murray's return, or permanently if he should decline the office. Mary long refused compliance; but the stern Lindsay terrified her into submission. The immediate coronation of the infant prince was their next measure. The English ambassador was invited to attend the ceremony, but he gave a peremptory refusal, stating that the proceedings of the Secret Council had been wholly against the advice and remonstrances of Elizabeth. The abdication of Mary took place on the 24th of July; the coronation of James on the 29th. The earl of Mar, his governor, bore the infant prince to the throne at the High Church of Stirling: the deeds of resignation by his mother were read, and Lindsay and Ruthven swore that they were her voluntary acts; Knox preached; the child was crowned; Morton

* Report of Throckmorton, July 18.

† Throckmorton to Cecil.

‡ Tytler, vol. vii. p. 164.

swore for him that he would maintain the Reformed religion and extirpate heresy; the lords took the oath of allegiance; and the infant of thirteen



James's Cradle.

months was carried back to his cradle. The indignation of Elizabeth at this proceeding was expressed in the strongest terms through her ambassador; but he was assured, without any reserve, that the hostility of the English government would only shorten Mary's days; for that those who pretended to be her friends, the party of the Hamiltons, had, within the last forty-eight hours, pro-

posed to the interim-regents to put her to death. All that Throckmorton could accomplish in favour of the prisoner, was that so fearful a measure, "the outgait" of the question, as they termed it, should be suspended till the return of Murray.*

Murray came from France at the beginning of August. The French government showed indifference to the fate of Mary, and great efforts were made by that government to secure the interest of the powerful man who had been chosen regent. He decided to communicate with Elizabeth. Alleged proofs of Mary being privy to her husband's murder had been put into his hands; and he was disposed to take part with the confederate lords. He had an interview with the queen of England, who took a high tone, and expressed her determination to restore Mary to her crown. Elizabeth's advisers would have moderated her indignation at Mary's rebellious subjects; but she kept to her resolution to support the cause of a sovereign held captive by an authority that set itself above the throne. When Murray reached Scotland he was irresolute as to the acceptance of the regency. On the one side, he was pressed by those who held in their hands letters and papers which they exhibited as proofs of Mary's guilt; on the other, it was represented to him that Mary's abdication was extorted from her. He determined to see her himself. On the 15th of August, in company with Morton, Athol, and Lindsay, he visited her at Lochleven. Mary appealed to him as her brother and her friend. He set before her all that had been alleged as the follies and crimes of her life; and a conversation, which lasted till midnight, ended in his exhorting her to seek refuge in the mercy of God. In the morning they had another interview, when Mary exhorted him to save her life, and pressed him to accept the regency. On the 22d of August Murray was proclaimed regent. At a meeting with the English ambassador, he declared his intention to make common cause with the lords. Though he had not been a party to their past doings, he commended what they had done;

* The undoubted details of this treachery of Mary's pretended friends are given by Mr. Tytler, vol. vii. pp. 170 to 175, in complete disproof of the statements of "our popular historians."

"and seeing the queen my sovereign and they, have laid on me the charge of regency, a burden I would gladly have avoided, I am resolved to maintain their action, and will reduce all men to obedience in the king's name, or it shall cost me my life." Throckmorton having asked to see Mary, was refused; and he was recalled to England. On the 15th December, the regent summoned a parliament. The queen's resignation of the crown, the king's coronation, and the regency of Murray, were confirmed. The pope's authority was abolished; the Confession of Faith of 1560 was sanctioned; all heretics and hearers of mass were declared liable to various punishments; and the Presbyterian Church was fully established as "the Immaculate Spouse of Christ." An Act of parliament was passed to exonerate those who had risen in arms to demand justice on the murderers of Darnley; which Act declared that the queen was confined for her demerits, seeing that by her private letters to Bothwell, and by her pretended marriage with him, she was cognisant, art and part, of the murder of the king her husband. These "divers her privy letters written wholly with her own hand," have been the subject of interminable controversy. They were said to have been found in a silver casket, which Mary had given to Bothwell, and which came into the hands of Morton after her surrender at Carberry-hill. Hume holds that "the objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of small force." * These letters afterwards formed part of the evidence upon an elaborate inquiry into the guilt or innocence of Mary. After the queen had been six months under restraint, opinions came to be more divided about her conduct and character. The sympathy naturally inspired by the misfortunes of a young and beautiful woman began to operate as a counterpoise to the severe denunciations of the stern reformers. New factions began to be formed, each having its objects of personal ambition. Murray, as was almost inevitable, screened the higher delinquents in Darnley's assassination, and proceeded severely against their tools. The Romanists, now a marked and proscribed minority, were anxious for some revolution which might restore their influence. On the 2d of May, 1568, Scotland was convulsed by the tidings that Mary had escaped from that prison whose walls were girded by the waters of Lochleven, seeming to present an insurmountable barrier to her release. In that isolated castle she had passed nine months of sorrow and anxiety—possibly of penitence—but never without hope of restoration to sovereign authority. Admiration she could command under the greatest reverse of fortune. George Douglas, the younger brother of William Douglas, the owner of Lochleven castle, was subdued by her charms; and even his proud mother, whose son was the regent Murray, had mitigated her original severity under Mary's fascinating influence. By the aid of George Douglas she had attempted to escape in the disguise of a laundress; but her delicate white hands had betrayed her real condition, and she was brought back to her solitary prison. This attempt was made on the 25th of April, and is described in a letter from Drury to Cecil. Mary had put on the hood of her laundress and had covered her face with a muffler or veil; and so, with a bundle of

* History of England, vol. v. Robertson and Laing agree in this opinion. Hume supports his conviction by an argument for their genuineness under fifteen heads (Notes to vol. v.) Mr. Aytoun boldly says, "The letters are now, I believe, universally admitted to be rank forgeries." Notes to "Bothwell," p. 293.

clothes she entered a boat that was about to cross the Loch. "After some space, one of them that rowed said merrily, 'Let us see what manner of dame this is,' and therewith offered to pull down her muffler, which to defend she put up her hands, which they espied to be very fair and white." Thus discovered, the boatmen heeded not her commands to row her over to the shore, but carried her back again to the castle. George Douglas, John Beaton, a brother of the archbishop of Glasgow, and other friends, were waiting at Kinross. A more successful attempt quickly followed. On the 2nd of May she accomplished her purpose by the aid of the same devoted admirer, the younger Douglas, who, dismissed from the castle, was still able to carry on a secret correspondence with the queen, and contrived to organise a formidable confederacy in her favour.

The story of Mary's escape has been worked up into the most picturesque of narratives by the great novelist of Scotland, and with no important deviation from the actual circumstances. These are related with some minuteness in an account transmitted by John Beaton to the king of France, and, upon his authority, repeated in an Italian letter to Cosmo de Medici from his envoy at Paris.* Beaton, nothing discouraged by the failure of the 25th of April, had contrived a new plan for her escape; and on the evening of the 2nd of May, there are anxious watchers on the neighbouring hills, and in the village of Kinross. One solitary man is gazing towards the castle from the edge of the lake. The outer gate opens, and a female hastens towards a boat. She leads a girl of ten years old by the hand; and a youth stays behind for a minute to lock the gate through which they have passed. He is a page of the castle, called the little Douglas. He has been won to Mary's succour, and he has rendered the most effectual aid by adroitly removing the massy key as he places a plate before the castellan, who is intent upon his evening meal. "The lad, Willie," as he is called in a letter from Kirkaldy to Douglas, has done his work like a true hero of romance; and he has been immortalised under another name.† The female and her two youthful attendants enter the boat. There is a white veil, with a broad red fringe, waving in the setting sun; and the gazers upon the boat know by this signal that it remains for them to insure success to this perilous enterprise. It was lord Seaton and his friends who were watching the going in and the return of the boat, from their quiet hidings on the hills. It was George Douglas who was the first to receive Mary on the edge of the lake. The instant she landed the queen was on horseback—she who once regretted "that she was not a man, to lie all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway with a jack and a knapsack, a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword." She rode at full speed to Niddrie castle, where she rested a few hours; wrote a letter to France; commanded a Hepburn to go to Dunbar to claim the castle for her; and then to carry to Bothwell, in Denmark, the news of her deliverance. She then again took horse, and arrived at Hamilton, where she considered herself secure. In a few hours she was surrounded by numerous lords and their followers. The deposed prisoner of a dreary castle on the 2nd of May, was on the 5th a queen at the head of an army.

* Tytler, "Proofs and Illustrations to History of Scotland," vol. vii. p. 457.

† Roland Græme, the page in "The Abbot."

But the earls and bishops, the barons and abbots, who, to the number of a hundred and fifty, had assembled at Mary's Council at Hamilton, and had declared the proceedings which had ended in Murray's regency as treasonable and of none effect,—these, in the want of a commanding leader, and each with his motives of vague ambition,—were unequal to cope with the master-mind of the regent, supported as he was by able counsellors who had every thing to lose, and by enthusiastic reformers whom no peril could turn away from the great cause for which they were as ready to fight as to preach. Murray was at Glasgow, only eight miles from Mary's camp at Hamilton, with an ordinary train, who attended upon his presidency in a court of justice there. Offers of negotiation were sent to him from the queen's council; but he issued a proclamation in which he avowed his resolve to support the government of the king. Some advised retreat. He decided not to move, but to gather assistance for an instant attack upon the queen's force. In ten days he was at the head of four thousand disciplined men. Mary's soundest advisers first counselled that she should remove to Dunbarton, which castle had been secured for her; and there, without the hazard of a battle, to endeavour to regain that influence in the kingdom which she had lost from the time of her fatal marriage with Bothwell. But the party of the Hamiltons thought themselves strong enough to destroy Murray, and secure their own ascendancy. The march to Dunbarton on the 13th of May, was, however, decided upon; but it was to be made in the face of an enemy who had his choice of attack or delay. Murray's camp was on the moor on the right bank of the Clyde, near Glasgow. The queen's army had its line of advance on the opposite bank. They had to defile through a narrow lane. Grange, who commanded under Murray, saw his advantage, and fording the Clyde with his horsemen, each having a foot-soldier behind him, placed them amongst cottages and gardens on each side of this lane. The queen's vanguard were driven back by the heavy fire which awaited their progress. Murray and Morton had crossed the river by a bridge, with their border pikemen. Morton led an advance, and the conflict was for some time doubtful. Murray had stood for a short time on the defensive against the charges of cavalry; but by an attack upon the queen's ranks with his main force the battle of three-quarters of an hour was decided. The number slain was comparatively small—not more than three hundred on the queen's side, and only two persons on the side of the regent. There is an account in the State Paper Office, headed, "Advertisements of the Conflicts in Scotland," dated May 16, which, in mentioning the flight of the queen's party, says, "At the beginning of which chase the earl of Murray willed and required all his to spare for shedding of more blood." We learn from the narrative, that "the queen beheld this conflict within half a mile distant, standing upon a hill." In that civil warfare she would ill distinguish between her friends and her foes; for "there were divers of the queen's part taken and not brought in, for there was the father against the son, and brother against brother, as namely, three of the Melvins of the lords' side, and two of the queen's." When all hope was lost on the dispersion of her army, Mary rode at full speed towards Dumfries; and never halted till she had reached the abbey of Dundrennan, near Kirkcudbright. On the 16th, having determined to take refuge in England, she crossed the Solway in a small boat, and landed at Workington,

in Cumberland. On the 17th, while remaining at Workington, she addressed a letter in French to Elizabeth, in which she enumerates the wrongs she had received from her rebellious subjects; describes the battle of Langsyde; and implores the queen that, having come into her country, she would receive her for safety of her life, and further assist her in her just quarrel. She adds, "I entreat you to send to fetch me as soon as you possibly can, for I am in a pitiable state not only for a queen but for a gentlewoman; for I have nothing in the world but what I had on my person when I made my escape, travelling sixty miles across the country on the first day, and not having since dared to proceed except by night."* When Mary arrived at Workington, she was received with kindness by the country gentlemen; and was conducted with respect to Carlisle by Mr. Lowther, the deputy-governor. She was attended by her friends, lords Herries and Fleming. Herries had taken the precaution to write to Lowther on the 15th, to know if the queen could come safely to Carlisle; but Mary was too impatient to wait for the answer, which was to the effect that, without instructions, he could only undertake to receive her with due honour, and to keep her in safety till the pleasure of the queen of England was known.

The position in which the English government was placed by the sudden events of a single fortnight was one of real embarrassment. We say the English government; for to attribute the policy pursued towards Mary to the personal feelings of Elizabeth, and not to the deliberate advice of her counsellors, is one of those mistakes which, in deference to popular views, historical writers have not been sufficiently careful to avoid. There is a paper extant in Cecil's handwriting which shows his extreme solicitude to arrive at a safe judgment upon the most difficult question that had ever presented itself to the sober regard of a statesman. That the queen of Scots should continue to be deprived of her crown, and that the administration of the country should remain under the regency, he holds to be the best way for England, but not the easiest. The escape from Lochleven, the claim of aid from Elizabeth of succour and protection, complicated that safer position which existed when the matters in dispute were confined to Mary and her own people. The queen of England had been strongly opposed to the deposition of Mary; but to take measures for her restoration, in opposition to an established authority which had been confirmed by the Scottish parliament, was to enter upon a war against those Protestant opinions upon which the rule of Elizabeth herself was founded. To permit Mary to return to Scotland without conditions, or to seek for aid from France, would either be a course of no light danger. To suffer her to remain in perfect freedom in England would have been to endanger Elizabeth's own position, by giving encouragement to that Roman Catholic party that held Mary as the legitimate heir of the English throne. Cecil saw all these difficulties, when he had to consider whether Mary's demand of an interview with Elizabeth could be conceded. Sir James Mackintosh holds that in the arguments which Cecil had set down for the guidance of his sovereign, he "had taken a comprehensive view of all the mixed considerations of policy and justice which arose on that peculiarly debateable ground, on which the safety of a people seems to

* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 236.

create a species of moral right, and to justify those acts which are necessary to secure the undisturbed quiet of the state, even when they deviate from rules which are, with reason, deemed inviolable in any but the most extreme and extraordinary cases."* The detention of Mary, the deposed queen of the Scots, and of Napoleon, the abdicated emperor of the French, when each had put themselves in the power of the English government, without conditions, have some parallel in their exception from ordinary rules. Pointing out this general resemblance of the cases, the same wise teacher of political philosophy says, "The imprisonment, though in neither case warranted by the rules of municipal or international law, was in both justified by that necessity from which those rules have sprung, and without which no violence can rightfully be done to a human being."†

The policy of the English government with regard to Mary resolved itself into a determination that there should be a solemn investigation into the truth of the charges against her of being accessary to the murder of her husband. Elizabeth, whatever might have been her notion of the abstract right of sovereigns, was too wise, or had too wise advisers, to listen to the exhortation of Catherine de Medici, "to persevere in the same opinion which you have hitherto maintained, that princes should assist each other to chastise and punish subjects who rise against them, and are rebels to their sovereigns." Sir Francis Knollys, a kinsman of Elizabeth, was sent by her to confer with Mary at Carlisle; and he used an argument towards her, as reported by him to his queen, which opens a large field of exception to the doctrine of the queen-mother of France: "I objected unto her that in some cases princes might be deposed from their government by their subjects lawfully, as if a prince should fall into madness. And, said I, what difference is there between lunacy and cruel murdering; for the one is an evil humour proceeding of melancholy, and the other is an evil humour proceeding of choler: wherefore the question is whether your grace deserved to be put from the government or not." At this argument the tears fell from the eyes of the unhappy Mary. Whether Elizabeth wholly approved of the logic of her representative, or not, the decision of her government was put upon this issue.

The detention of Mary at Carlisle, near the Scottish frontier, being thought dangerous, she was removed in July to Bolton castle. Her indignation at being considered a prisoner was unabated. The factions in Scotland were at open war. A French army was expected with eagerness by Mary's adherents, though she herself disclaimed any knowledge of their intended landing. An armistice was at length concluded between the opposing parties; and a conference was opened at York on the 4th of October. The queen of England was represented by three commissioners, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, who were to hear the allegations of the queen of Scots against her rebellious subjects; and the counter-charges against herself, made by those who had raised war against their sovereign. Mary chose the bishop of Ross and lord Herries, with others, to be her commissioners. Murray was accompanied by four commissioners, with Lethington and Buchanan as assistants. The representatives of Mary set forth the

* "History of England," vol. iii. p. 115.

† *Ibid.*, p. 121, note.

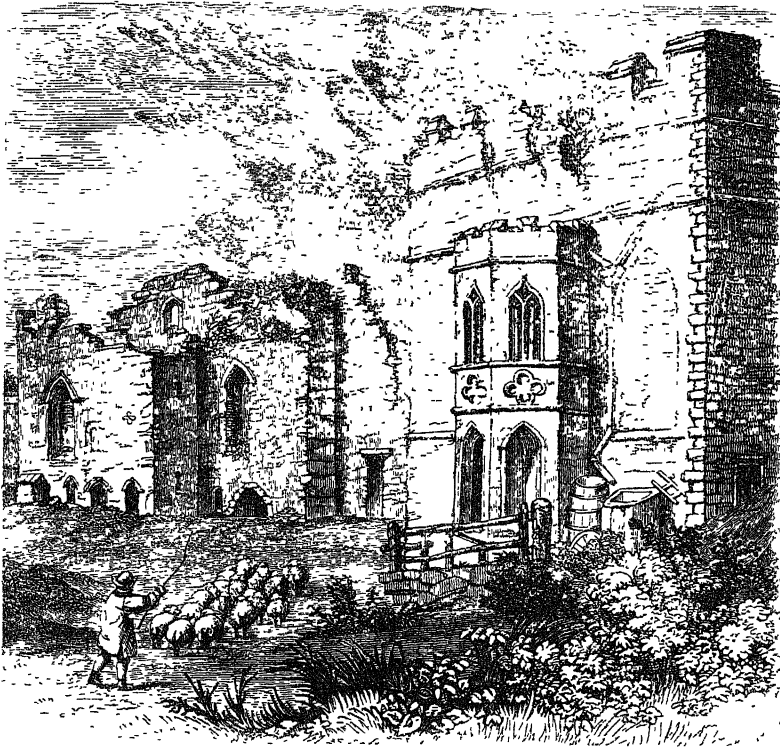
notorious facts of the revolt against her by the usurpers of her authority, of her imprisonment, her deposition, the coronation of her infant son, the regency of Murray, her enforced flight into England. Murray was placed in a position of extreme difficulty if not of danger. Before he brought forward proofs of the crimes of Mary, which could alone justify the course he and his friends had pursued, he sought to receive some assurance that, if the queen of Scots should be declared guilty, he should be sanctioned by the English government in his proceedings, and supported in his office. The assurance was not given; for the question was to be submitted to Elizabeth's own decision. The duke of Norfolk, who afterwards paid a terrible penalty for his espousal of the cause of Mary in the desire to become her husband—not without some inclination to favour her claim to the English crown—influenced Murray to withhold his accusations against the queen of Scots. "The English queen, his mistress," he said, "was resolved during her life to evade the question of the succession, careless what blood might be shed, or what confusion might arise upon the point: as to the true title, none doubted that it lay in the queen of Scots and her son; and much he marvelled that the regent, whom he had always reputed a wise and honourable man, should come hither to blacken his mistress, and, as far as he could, destroy the prospect of her and her son's succession." * In consequence of this influence Murray withheld the real defence of himself and his friends, and made no public charge against Mary. But he privately exhibited to Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler, the written proofs of Mary's guilt, alleged to have been found in the silver casket. The commissioners of Elizabeth transmitted to her an abstract of these papers, with this strong opinion of their authenticity:—"The letters discourse of some things which were unknown to any other than herself and Bothwell; and as it is hard to counterfeit so many, so the matter of them, and the manner in which these men came by them, are such that as it seemeth that God, in whose sight murder is abominable, would not permit the same to be hid or concealed." † The commissioners of Mary had now an interview with Elizabeth, when she informed them that the enemies of their queen had entirely failed in their defence; but that another conference should be held in London. Murray, after some further hesitation, made his accusation against the queen in the strongest terms; and Lennox, the father of the murdered Darnley, also accused Mary of conspiring his death. Mary's commissioners now required that she should be heard in person by Elizabeth; which Elizabeth refused, until Murray had brought forward his proofs. The commissioners of Mary then took an extraordinary step. They made a proposal for a compromise, by which Murray and the queen should be reconciled. This proposition was rejected by Elizabeth. The bishop of Ross, and his associates, now declared that the conferences were at an end, as Elizabeth had determined to receive from Murray proofs of his injurious charges against Mary, before she was herself heard in the presence of her sister-queen. The discussions and recriminations were prolonged for some time. Murray delivered his proofs as regarded the written evidence of Mary's complicity in the guilt of

* Melvil's *Memoirs*, quoted by Tytler as unquestionable authority, "as he was not only present at York, but the regent made him privy to this secret interview." See also Jardine's "*Criminal Trials*," vol. i.

† Letter from York, October 11, 1568

Darnley's assassination; and her commissioners still persisted in their refusal to re-open the conferences. Elizabeth, as Norfolk had intimated, would come to no final decision. Mr. Tytler, after fully narrating these remarkable proceedings, in which he holds that "both Elizabeth and the queen of Scots acted with great art," says, "so far as we judge of these conferences by themselves, they leave the mind under the unsatisfying and painful impression that the conduct of the Scottish queen, throughout the whole investigation, was that of a person neither directly guilty, nor yet wholly innocent."*

During the conferences at York and London, Mary Stuart had remained under the care of Lord Scrope, at Bolton. By an order of Council in January, 1569, she was placed with George, earl of Shrewsbury, and was removed to his castle of Tutbury, on the 2nd of February. The earl, one of the highest



Interior of Tutbury Castle Yard.

of the peers of England, had the burthensome, dangerous, and not very honourable office imposed upon him, of having the custody, for many years, of the deposed queen, who, however strictly watched, was in correspondence, from first to last, with the enemies of Elizabeth and her government; and

* "History of Scotland," vol. vii. p. 268.

who was the pivot of most of the domestic and foreign intrigues for the overthrow of English Protestantism. Before the end of 1568 the earl of Shrewsbury had written to his energetic wife, known as "Bess of Hardwick," that the queen had told him she meant to trust him as she would trust few, by which he understood that he was to have the custody of the queen of Scots. It is difficult to understand how any nobleman of great riches and influence, if possessed of a high spirit, could have submitted to the slavery of such an office. Shrewsbury and his wife were to be ever at Mary's side. She was carried about with them from Tutbury to their various castles and manor-houses—to Sheffield, to Buxton, to Worksworth, to Chatsworth, to Winfield. These, indeed, were pleasant places, surrounded by cultivated fields and rich woods—far different from the solitary Lochleven. Tutbury castle stood upon a high hill, at the foot of which runs the river Dove; with Needwood forest around it, and the Peak mountains in the distance. Sheffield castle was upon an eminence overlooking the little town, where "the whittle" was then forged without the tilt-hammer. In the grand old halls where John Talbot had held his state, Mary spent fourteen years of her captivity, with a few temporary changes. Tradition says that Hardwick was amongst her prison-houses; and in that fine mansion of the Tudor days we are shown her bedroom and her tapestry-work. But tradition is wrong, according to modern archæology; * although bishop Kennet, a hundred and sixty years ago, said of Mary, "Her chamber and rooms of state, with her arms and other ensigns, are still remaining at Hardwick; her bed was taken away for plunder in the Civil Wars." † But wherever Mary was, the anxiety of Elizabeth for her safe detention was unremitting. In August, 1569, Cecil writes to the earl that the queen was troubled to hear that he, Shrewsbury, was going, or gone, to the baths at Buxton; "and," he says, "if you were gone, which she said she would hardly believe, then I should seek to understand what order your lordship had left for attendance upon the said queen, and that yourself should not be long absent from thence." Cecil adds, what may be considered as a piece of court duplicity, that "her majesty said she did as much esteem for her own honour to have the queen of Scots to be honourably attended, as for any matter of surety." ‡ Within a fortnight after this letter, Shrewsbury is warned not to permit persons coming to himself or his lady, "to have resort to the queen of Scots' presence." In another month, the earl of Huntingdon, in consequence of the sickness of Shrewsbury, is commanded to repair to Shrewsbury's house, with his own trusty servants, "and there to take the charge of the said queen." In this letter from Elizabeth herself to Huntingdon, she says, "We will have you also, after conference with our said cousin of Shrewsbury, to devise how the number of the queen of Scots' train might be diminished, and reduced only to thirty persons of all sorts, as was ordered, but, as we perceive, too much enlarged of late time. You shall also, jointly with the earl of Shrewsbury, give order that no such common resort be to the queen as hath been; nor that she have such liberty to send posts as she hath done." § A short note from Cecil to Shrewsbury, of the same date, shows a cause for all this jealous vigilance:

* See a paper by the Rev. J. Hunter, in "*Archæologia*," vol. xxxii.

† Quoted in Mr. Craik's "*Romance of the Peerage*," vol. iii. p. 178.

‡ Lodge's "*Illustrations*," 4to, vol. ii. p. 18.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

"The queen's majesty is entered into no small offence with the intention that she thinketh hath been to devise of a marriage with the Scottish queen." * We have seen how, during the conferences at York, the duke of Norfolk prevailed upon the regent Murray to suppress his charges against Mary. When Murray was goaded into a public accusation, Norfolk was greatly angered against him; but they became reconciled, and Murray consented to favour Norfolk's project of a marriage with Mary. In 1569 this scheme was promoted by some English nobles, without the privity of Elizabeth; and a letter was written by Leicester, and three other lords, to Mary, urging her to consent to such a marriage, to which she returned a favourable answer. A formal contract of marriage was afterwards drawn up. In August, 1569, some ladies of Elizabeth's court got to the knowledge of this secret—with the feminine "sagacity in smelling out amatory affairs."† Leicester, who was subsequently accused by Norfolk as the inventor of this scheme for his ruin, revealed the transaction to the queen, and was forgiven. Elizabeth then invited the duke to dine with her; and, when he rose to leave, significantly told him "to beware on what pillow he laid his head." This is Camden's anecdote, no doubt founded upon what was urged against the duke by the queen's serjeant, upon his trial in 1572; namely, that the queen having understood his intention to marry with Mary, he complained to her of the rumour; "in which complaint," says the serjeant, "as I have heard her majesty herself declare it, and some here of my lords have likewise heard it, he said, 'To what end should I seek to marry her, being so wicked a woman, such a notorious adulteress, and murderer? I love to sleep upon a safe pillow. I account myself, by your majesty's good favour, as good a prince at home in my bowling-alley at Norwich as she is, though she were in the middle of her kingdom. The revenues of the crown of Scotland are not comparable to mine own, that I enjoy by your goodness, as I have heard of the chief officers of that realm; besides, her kingdom is not in her own hand, but possessed by another. If I should seek to match with her, knowing, as I do know, that she pretendeth a title to your crown, your majesty might justly charge me with seeking to take your own crown from your head.' This the duke spake to the queen's majesty, in his excuse, when the rumour was spread of his proposed marriage with the Scottish queen; and yet, at that time, he had dealt earnestly in it."‡

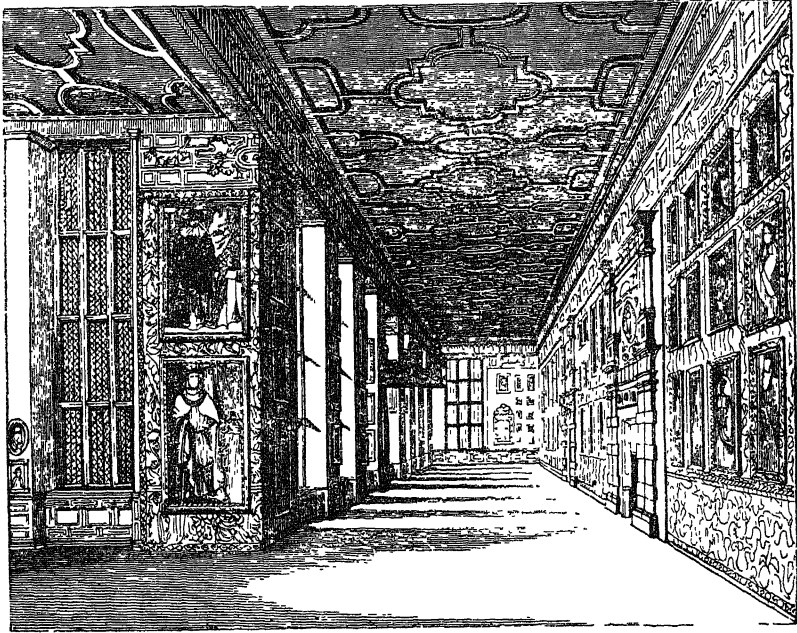
The duke of Norfolk was committed to the Tower on the 9th of October, where he continued a prisoner till the 4th of the following August. Cecil honestly protested against the duke being brought to trial for high treason upon insufficient evidence. But this autumn of 1569 was a period of great anxiety, which sufficiently justified the vigilance and suspicion of Elizabeth's government. Immediately after the arrest of Norfolk an insurrection broke out in the northern counties, headed by the catholic lords, Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Neville, earl of Westmorland. They proclaimed their design of restoring the old religion, and it was their intention to release the queen of Scots, and to place her upon the English throne. They also contemplated the release of Norfolk. Mary was

* Lodge's "Illustrations," 4to, vol. ii. p. 23.

† Camden.

‡ Jardine, p. 162.

hurriedly removed from Tutbury castle to Coventry. The details of this insurrection will be better understood after a brief view of the progress of the country towards a settled government and established religion, since the accession of queen Elizabeth.



Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire.

In the desire not to interrupt the course of our narrative as regards Mary, queen of Scots, we passed over an interesting matter of public and personal history—the touching story of lady Catherine Grey. This second sister of lady Jane Grey had been betrothed to lord Herbert; but upon the fortunes of the house of Suffolk falling before the ascendancy of Mary Tudor, the alliance was repudiated, and Herbert was married to a daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury. After the death of the duchess of Suffolk, the niece of Henry VIII., in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, her daughter, lady Catherine Grey, stood next to Mary Stuart as the heir to the crown after the death of Elizabeth; and, according to the will of Henry VIII., she was considered by some as having the true title to its immediate possession. Lady Catherine had a court-appointment under Elizabeth, and was the intimate friend of Jane Seymour, the daughter of the Protector Somerset, who was also one of the Maids of Honour. Her brother, Edward Seymour, who had been created earl of Hertford, was fascinated by Catherine; and these lovers were privately married, the bride being about twenty-one, and the husband a year older. Hertford went abroad in 1561, and Catherine, having been unable to conceal the consequences of this hasty union, was sent to the Tower. The widow of the Protector writes to Cecil denying all knowledge of her son's

marriage, and hopes the wilfulness of her unruly child will not diminish the queen's favour.* Harsh as the imprisonment of Catherine Grey may seem, we must bear in mind the extreme jealousy with which alliances of persons of royal blood, made without the consent of the reigning sovereign, have at all times been regarded. But the evidence of this marriage was not forthcoming. The young people had made their way on foot from Whitehall to the earl's house,—according to their own statements after Hertford had returned home and had been also imprisoned,—and a priest, whose name was unknown, had married them, the sole witness being Jane Seymour, who had soon after died. A commission of inquiry was appointed, consisting of archbishop Parker and certain divines and lawyers; and it was declared that there had been no legal marriage. A second son was born in 1563, Hertford and Catherine being still in confinement. Some additional severity was now thought necessary, and Hertford was fined in three several sums of five thousand pounds, by process in the Star-Chamber.† From this period, till her death in 1568, Catherine continued under the queen's displeasure; and there are some touching letters of her uncle, which show how deeply she felt this anger, which kept her in a dishonourable position, and separated her from him who she maintained was her true husband. But the common narratives which state that she wore out her life in strict confinement in the Tower, and there died, are not founded in fact. We can trace the course of her suffering years of marriage distinctly, from authentic documents. She was sent to the Tower in August, 1561. Her rooms were furnished somewhat sumptuously by the queen's command; but, according to the petition of the lieutenant of the Tower, who, in September 1563, asked to have "the stuff" for his perquisite, it was "most of it so torn and tattered with her monkeys and dogs, as will serve to small purpose." Catherine and her husband were removed from the Tower in August, 1563, on account of the plague having broken out in London; the lady being given to the charge of her uncle, lord John Grey. The displeasure of Elizabeth might probably have passed away, had not John Hales, a partisan of the claims of the house of Suffolk to the crown, published a book in April, 1564, in which he attempted to confute the pretensions of the Scottish queen, and maintained the validity of the marriage of Hertford and Catherine Grey. On May 26, 1564, we find that the earl of Hertford was committed to the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower;‡ but the common statement that both he and his wife were re-committed to that prison in 1565, appears to be supported by no very clear evidence. Catherine's uncle died in November, 1564, and she was then given in charge to Mr. Secretary Petre. On the 14th of May, 1566, sir John Wentworth writes to the Council, saying he has received a letter from the queen commanding him to take charge of the lady Catherine, but he prays to be excused. But no doubt the responsibility was forced upon him, for on the 2nd of October, 1567, the queen directs Sir Owen Hopton, in consequence of the demise of Sir John Wentworth, to take into his charge the lady Catherine Grey, but to keep her from the access of all strangers. On the 11th of January, 1568, Hopton

* "Calendar of State Papers," August 22, 1561.

† The legitimacy of the children of this marriage was established in 1606, by an action at law, when the priest who married Hertford and Catherine was produced.

‡ "Calendar of State Papers."

writes to Cecil that she has kept her bed three days. On the 27th of that month she died at his house at Yoxford, in Suffolk. The common assertion that she, who was reserved for a more lingering misery than her sister Jane, died in the Tower, is altogether incorrect. There is a very affecting account of the death-bed of this poor lady, and her last conversation with sir Owen Hopton; who perceiving her draw near her end, said to a bystander, "Were it not best to send to the church, that the bell be rung."* Upon this subject we have received the following interesting communication.†

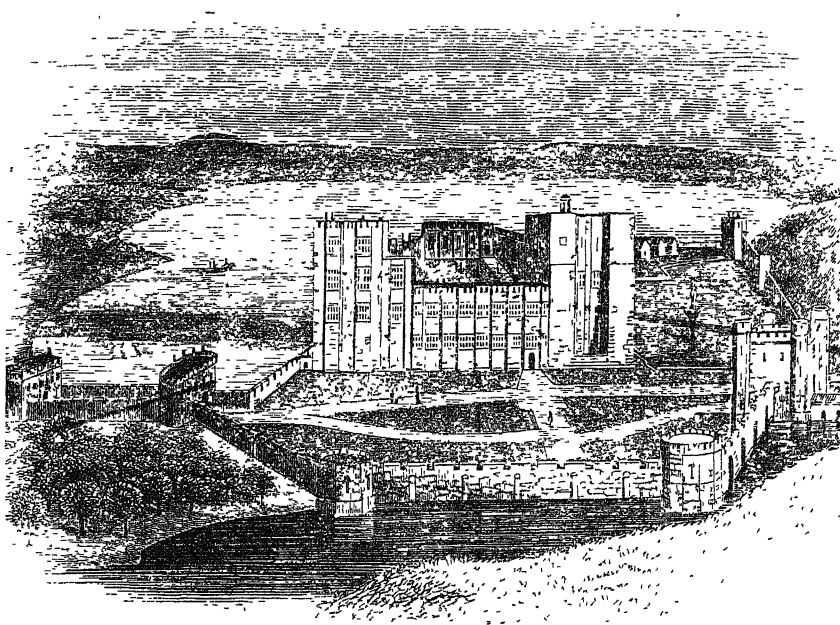
"When vicar of Yoxford, in Suffolk, I found the record of her burial there. It was the first entry I noticed in the register. This led me to examine the Manuscript in the British Museum, giving an account, as stated, of her death in the Tower. The heading of the Manuscript, indeed, is to this effect; but the heading is not in the handwriting of the original scribe, and is of more recent date. The error is obvious, and so is its cause. Sir Owen Hopton, afterwards lieutenant of the Tower,‡ was present, and asked, should the passing bell be tolled? The writer of the heading was not aware that sir Owen Hopton was lord of Yoxford, and that Catherine resided under his charge at Cockfield hall. Here her great chest with the royal arms of England may be still seen. One of the heralds in his Visitations mentions the affecting story of her lap-dog persisting to lie upon her grave there, and expiring in sorrow for her loss."

The lady Mary Grey, the youngest daughter of Frances Brandon, made also a rash marriage with Elizabeth's Serjeant Porter. She, the least of the court, married the biggest gentleman—as Cecil described them. They also had to endure the anger of the queen, and were sent to prison. The tiny woman survived her husband, but died many years before Elizabeth.

* Harl. MS., Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 288.

† Letter to the author of this History, from the Rev. Joseph D'Arcy Sirr, D.D., Assistant Chaplain to the Forces.

‡ The first notice of sir Owen Hopton being Lieutenant of the Tower is found ("Calendar of State Papers") under the date of March, 1571.



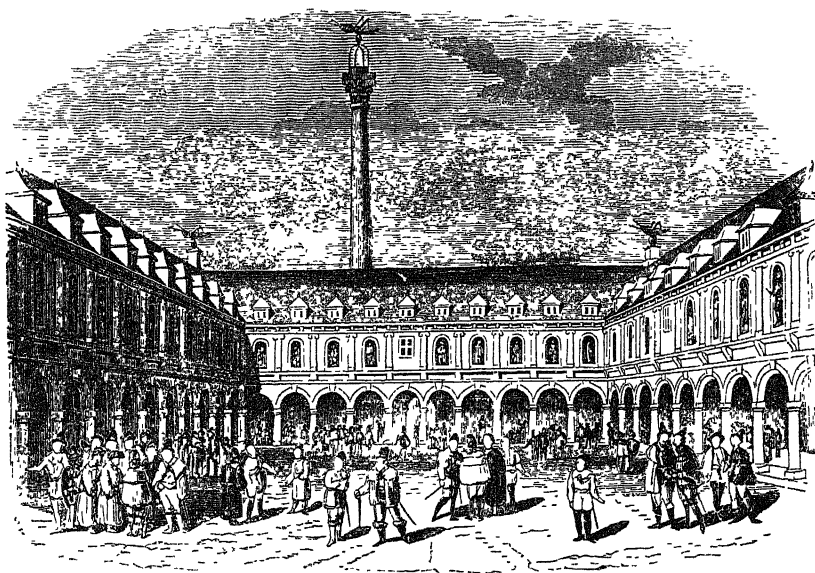
Kenilworth Castle in 1620 From the fresco painting at Newnham Padox.

CHAPTER XI.

General view of the first ten years of Elizabeth—Movement of Rome against Protestantism—The persecutions in the Netherlands and in France—Intrigues against Elizabeth—Insurrection of the north—Pius V. issues a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth—Parliament of 1571—Statutes against papists—Puritanical party in the House of Commons—Motion for reform of abuses in the Church—Trial and execution of the duke of Norfolk—Troubles of Scotland—The Huguenots of France propitiated by the marriage of the prince of Navarre—Coligny shot—The massacre of Saint Bartholomew resolved upon—Its perpetration—Effect of the news upon the court and people of England—New danger of the queen of Scots.

THE contemporaries of Elizabeth regarded the first ten years of her reign as "her halcyon days." The transition from the fiery Catholicism of Mary Tudor to the temperate Protestantism of her sister Elizabeth had been accomplished without bloodshed or convulsion. In the parliament of 1559, the nation was quietly led back to its ecclesiastical condition in the time of Edward VI.; and conformity was not rendered difficult or impossible by any needless stringency towards those who adhered to the old religion. In the parliament of 1563 measures of a stronger character were adopted against papists. Symptoms began to manifest themselves of a more active opposition to the civil and religious settlement under Elizabeth, induced by the arguments of catholic teachers who were spread about the country. Some persons, lay and ecclesiastical, were deterred from conformity, and others left

the realm. But still there was no outbreak produced either by supineness or persecution. The parliament of 1566 passed no new law that, in any matter of importance, touched the subject of religion. Differences of opinion as to ceremonial observances had arisen amongst the English protestants themselves; and those who were called Puritans were fast becoming an organised power. But at the time when Mary Stuart had crossed the Solway, and the great question of policy had been raised as to her detention, the state of Protestantism in Europe, upon the maintenance of which in England the government of Elizabeth was to stand or fall, was one of great insecurity and alarm. The halcyon days were fast passing away. The people of this country had been prospering in the labours of peace. They had been extending their commerce to distant lands where the benefits of inter-communication had been little appreciated by earlier adventurers. Their sailors had gone forth to



Sir Thomas Gresham's Exchange, London. Completed in 1570.

make maritime discoveries. Frobisher was seeking a new passage to India; and Hawkins had found a fresh source of wealth in the hateful African slave-trade. Gresham was building an Exchange in London, where the merchants of all nations might meet to buy and sell. The great principles of commerce were so far understood that merchandise was allowed to be exported and imported in foreign ships, upon the payment of alien imposts; and the English and Flemish merchants united their contributions for marine insurance. The people were lightly taxed, for the government was an economical one. Whatever were the religious differences of the community, its various members united peaceably in the duties of their several callings. They felt that they were under a firm government; and in the security of such a government,

despotic enough but not corrupt or lavish, the wealth and intelligence of England were steadily progressing.

In 1568, when Elizabeth and her ministers were displaying towards Mary Stuart a policy which it is easy to call unjust and cruel, treacherous and ungenerous, the heretical queen of England and her protestant subjects were the objects of the bitterest hatred of those who thought the time was come to extirpate heresy by fire and sword. A Dominican monk of the severest life—a zealot who had distinguished himself as an inquisitor—became pope in 1566, under the title of Pius V. A more furious bigot never sat on the papal throne; and his bigotry was the more terrible from the circumstance that it was conscientious. When he sent a force to the aid of the French catholics, he told their leader “to take no Huguenot prisoner, but instantly to kill every one that fell into his hands.”* When the savage duke of Alva was butchering without remorse in the Netherlands, the holy father sent him a consecrated hat and sword, in admiration of his Christian proceedings. Pius V. avowed his desire to devote the treasures of the church, even to its chalices and crucifixes, to carry a religious war into England; and to head such an expedition himself. The influence of this frantic persecutor over kings who made their religious intolerance an instrument of their cruel tyranny, such as Philip II., was enormous. This Pope of the Inquisition, as he has been called, arose, with his sole idea of extirpating heresy by force, at a time when the two great religious principles were coming into open conflict. The period for accommodation had passed away. In 1568 Alva was appointed by Philip, Captain-general of the Netherlands. His mission was to destroy the heretics, root and branch; and he accomplished his work with a success that left his master and his master’s holy counsellor nothing to desire. While Alva was, in Valenciennes, Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, hanging, beheading, racking, burning, and confiscating, the secretary of Philip said to the papal nuncio, “are you now satisfied with the proceedings of the king?” The smiling nuncio answered, “quite satisfied.” The tribunal which condemned the victims whom their officers had ferreted out, was called the “Council of Blood.” From the great commercial cities of the Netherlands there were hosts of fugitives, although the most terrible penalties were denounced against those who attempted to fly. Many came for refuge to England. The same asylum was sought by Huguenots of France, when the hopes of their party were destroyed on the field of Moncontour. They said,—

“ Our hearths we abandon, our lands we resign ;
But, Father, we kneel to no altar but thine.”†

Amongst these refugees were not only a great number who professed Calvinistic opinions, but others who carried their principle of liberty of conscience into the avowal of doctrines which even liberal protestants considered dangerous. Those who were opposed to infant baptism were held, with great injustice, to belong to the old sect of anabaptists, whose social opinions were deemed adverse to all regular government. Whilst the general body of exiles, by the recital of their injuries, diffused a popular hatred of papal persecution, some strengthened that dislike to many of the ceremonial

* Ranke, vol. i. p. 383.

† Macaulay, “Songs of the Huguenots.”

observances of the English church, which gradually established a large class who, in their hatred of popery, would tolerate no forms that appeared derived from the ancient worship. A few became obnoxious to that intolerance which, in the earlier days of the Reformation, hunted out those who, deservedly or not, were suspected of holding to the opinions which John of Leyden rendered infamous. But the puritan doctrines, or the more heterodox, as yet gave slight trouble to the government of Elizabeth, compared with the civil and religious dangers apprehended in the present crisis of Catholic hostility to every form of Protestantism. The furious pope had his agents in England denouncing the queen as a heretic. Philip was maturing plots by advances of money to his spies in London. Alva was devising plans for an invasion of the island that had cast off the successor of St. Peter. Around Mary Stuart were concentrated all the intrigues that sought to place the orthodox and legitimate descendant of Henry VII. upon the throne of the heretical and illegitimate daughter of Anne Boleyn. The insurrection of the north, of 1569, was no immature combination of a few discontented papist nobles, but a result of the general movement against the reformers that was agitating Europe. Those who regard this crisis through the thick veil of their sentimentalities about the unfortunate Scottish queen, with the usual trashy belief in Elizabeth's jealousy of her superior charms, will do well to abstain from the study of what they call history, and surrender themselves with an undivided trust to the professed writers of poetry and romance. History has to deal with serious truths, and not with morbid sympathies and blind nationalities. It was the glory of the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign that "no English blood had been shed on the scaffold or in the field for a public quarrel, whether civil or religious."* If, during the next twenty years, we have, amidst a constant advance of national prosperity, to trace the course of conspiracies and insurrections, we must look at England as the arena where the two great principles that were dividing Europe were fought out. The victory remained with the sagacious statesmen who best understood the character of the nation—statesmen led by a ruler unsurpassed in the highest attributes of a sovereign; one who in every danger was equal to the emergency; who felt the grandeur of her position as the head of the Reformation; whose force of character made that Protestantism secure which was once more than doubtful; who, in the hour of her greatest trial, when the catholic world gathered together all its strength to crush the heretic islanders, threw herself boldly upon the affections of her people, one and all, and the danger was overpast; the sovereign to whom we chiefly owe that, after the lapse of three hundred years, the faith which she built up is so safe that it allows the widest toleration to take the place of the exclusive conformity of her time. This is the queen that history should paint. The foibles of the woman belong to a lower province of literature.

In the autumn of 1569 there were symptoms of disquiet in the northern counties. Cecil, in a letter of the 13th of October, to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, says, in a postscript, "My lords,—It may be that you have [heard] or shall hear of a fond rumour stirred up the 6th of

* Mackintosh.

this month, in the North Riding and the Bishopric, of a rising should be ; but it was a vain smoke, but without any spark of any account." * When the wary minister wrote this he probably knew perfectly well that the smoke was not without fire. The general disaffection of the northern catholics was well known. Sadler wrote, from the border counties, "There are not in all this country ten gentlemen that do favour and allow of her majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion." † Dr. Norton, who had been a prebendary of York in the time of queen Mary, had come from Rome with the title of apostolical penitentiary. He had incited the catholic priests and the northern gentlemen by statements that the pope was about to issue a bull of deposition against Elizabeth. He was a relative of the families of Norton and Markenfeld, whom Mary Stuart numbered amongst her friends. The earls of Westmorland and Northumberland were in secret communication with her. The adroitness by which Mary contrived to elude the vigilance of those who had her custody is one of the most remarkable points of her character. She was always borne up by the belief that she had the right to the throne filled by Elizabeth, and that the people of England would support her in that right if she had her liberty. The arrest of Norfolk precipitated the insurrection. The schemes for foreign aid were devised but not perfected. Alva was to have sent an auxiliary force to land at Hartlepool. These schemes and preparations could not be concealed from the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers. On the 10th of November the earls of Westmorland and Northumberland were summoned to repair to court. Apprehensive of arrest Northumberland marched with his vassals to join Westmorland at the castle of Brancepeth. There was no longer any disguise. A proclamation was issued, addressed to all professing the catholic faith, to restore the ancient worship ; and the earls marched on to Durham with a banner representing the bleeding Saviour—"the banner of the five wounds." It was borne by a brave old man, whose fate, and the fate of his eight sons, have been preserved from the oblivion of dry annals by the legends which a true poet has invested with almost historical reality. ‡ The Nortons of Rylstone may claim our tears ; but we have little pity for the weak earls, who, when Sussex appeared against them with a strong force, fled to Scotland, leaving their followers to the terrible vengeance that followed a suppressed revolt. Northumberland, after a confinement of several years at Lochleven, was given up to the English government, and executed. Westmorland died an exile in Flanders. There was a subsequent revolt under lord Dacres of the North, which was put down after a battle, in which the catholics fought with desperation. The English Bible and Common Prayer had been burnt by the insurgents of 1569 in the cathedral of Durham. Their avowed intention was to march to Tutbury, and release Mary. Had they succeeded, the nation would have been plunged into a terrible civil war. The Catholics of the thinly-inhabited border counties were numerous as well as desperate ; but the Protestants of the more densely peopled parts of England, and especially of the great towns, were far too united to have the old worship forced back upon them, the contest involving a new struggle for the crown. Their horror of the past

* Lodge, vol. ii. p. 26.

† Quoted in Lingard, vol. viii. p. 54.

‡ Wordsworth, "White Doe of Rylstone."

days of martyrdoms—their dread of a foreign domination, with a Council of Blood and an Inquisition—made the ascendant party furious and the government revengeful. The triumph of 1569 was disgraced by fearful executions. It might have been disgraced by a more terrible act of vengeance. There is a letter written by Leicester to Walsingham in 1586, in which he urges the execution of the queen of Scots, and says, “Remember how, upon a less cause, how effectually all the Council of England once dealt with her majesty for justice to be done upon that person; for, being suspected and informed to be consenting with Northumberland and Westmorland in the rebellion, you know the great seal of England was sent then, and thought just and meet, upon the sudden, for her execution.”* Had the powers of the great seal thus been exercised—and the expressions of Leicester do not imply that any trial was contemplated—the reign of Elizabeth would have been stained with a greater crime than the eventual execution of Mary, after seventeen years more of hopeless plots and ever-present suspicions. But, whatever justification there may have been for the intrigues to recover liberty and power made by this victim of an almost insurmountable state necessity, there can be no doubt that her life was a constant source of alarm to the English nation; and that at every hostile movement against Protestantism her death was loudly called for. If the unhappy Mary had warm friends amongst the Catholic party in both divisions of the island; if there were many who regarded her as innocent of the crimes laid to her charge, and were touched by a real pity for her misfortunes; the great body of the English people, who lived in security under the sagacious government of the queen, and looked with admiration upon her extraordinary abilities and strength of character, would have most gladly heard of the removal, even by some violence to which long years of despotism had familiarised them, of one whom they justly regarded as a public enemy. The nation was in a more earnest mood than when it had quietly passed from the Protestantism of Edward to the Catholicism of Mary, and back again to the Protestantism of Elizabeth. The number of enthusiasts on either side was rapidly increasing. Puritan and Jesuit were coming into closer warfare. There was a great battle of principle still to be waged by the Reformers; for their victory could scarcely be held as thoroughly achieved. Opposed to them were men as zealous, and more united. The power of the state was with the Protestant cause; the ancient habit of implicit obedience to the head of the universal church gave a coherence to every movement of the Romanists. When Pius V., on the 25th of February, 1570, signed the threatened bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, which anathematised her and her adherents as heretics; absolved all her subjects from their oath of allegiance; and enjoined them, under pain of excommunication, not to obey her commands; it was not likely that the principles at issue would approach nearer to accommodation. We are told by the catholic historian, “the time was gone by when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes.”† When Alva sent copies of the bull to England, and Felton, an enthusiastic catholic, fixed it up on the gates of the

* “Leicester Correspondence,” edited by Mr. Bruce, p. 481.

† Lingard, vol. viii. p. 67.

bishop of London's residence, they could scarcely have meant its publicity as harmless sport. Felton was executed; but he died, avowing himself a martyr, and gave the queen the title of "the pretender." There was at this time a conspiracy detected in Norfolk. With a less vigilant government the thunder might not only have alarmed, but the lightning might have struck. The danger was not so much to be apprehended from the catholics in a united body, as from the jesuits and refugee priests who were constantly passing from the continent to England to dissuade the wavering from conformity, and to stimulate the hostile to acts of rebellion. An English college for these zealous missionaries had been established at Douay, about a year before the issue of the bull of excommunication. The natural issue of these attempts to shake the government and the established religion was the enactment of more stringent laws against Roman Catholics,—laws, which in the happier spirit of our own age we may justly decry as harsh and unjust, but which we can scarcely venture to consider as simply tyrannical.

The parliament met on the 2nd of April, 1571, after a suspension of legislation for more than four years. The speech of the lord-keeper, sir Nicholas Bacon, sets forth, with considerable eloquence, the past blessings of the queen's reign,—the setting at liberty God's Word, and deliverance from Roman tyranny; the inestimable benefit of peace; and the clemency and mercy of the government. "I pray you," he says, "hath it been seen or read, that any prince of this realm during ten whole years' reign, and more, hath had his hands so clean from blood?" That this peace had been disturbed and this clemency interrupted, he then imputes to "the raging Romanist rebels." This is the prelude to the first Statute of the session, which makes it treason to set forth that the queen ought not to possess the crown but some other persons; or to affirm that she is a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper. The second clause of this Statute is evidently directed against Mary Stuart, enacting that all persons of any degree, nation, or estate, who during the queen's life should claim title to the crown should be disabled from inheriting the same; and that any claimant to the right of succession, contrary to any proclamation on the matter that might be issued by the queen, should be declared guilty of high treason. The queen's advisers were desirous to carry the principle of exclusion further; and to make a law that the queen of Scots was unable and unworthy to succeed. A committee of the Commons presented an address to Elizabeth, asking her to proceed criminally against Mary. Divines and statesmen concurred in urging violent measures against the prisoner. With archbishop Parker she was "one desperate person." With Walsingham she was "that dangerous woman." Each called for "justice." It is the fashion to represent Elizabeth as always thirsting for her rival's blood; yet it is perfectly clear that she resisted Council and Parliament when they called for extreme proceedings against "the pretended Scottish queen." Parker asked for justice upon the desperate person that "the papists' daily expectation" might be "vanquished." The difficulties of the crisis were held to be met by the enactment of strong laws against the papists themselves. The statute of the 5th of Elizabeth against upholding the jurisdiction of the See of Rome had been transgressed by bringing in bulls and instruments of absolution. It was now enacted, that the putting in use or publishing any such bull, or giving absolution under the same, or

obtaining such an instrument from Rome, shall be adjudged high treason; and that such as brought into the kingdom crosses, pictures, beads, or other "vain and superstitious things," claiming to be hallowed by the bishop of Rome, or under his authority, should incur the penalties of *præmunire*. This statute was more comprehensive in its severity than at first sight appears; for the outward conformity of Romanists had been tolerated under absolution, without which they were excluded from the communion of their own church. How far it was politic to force the pliant and wavering into the established religion against the rights of conscience, or to render them liable to extreme dangers in asserting these rights, is a question of which we cannot wholly judge. Of the injustice of such a proceeding there can be no doubt. But we cannot quite go along with the belief of one whose opinion is entitled to the utmost respect, that "the nation, as it was clearly ready to profess either religion, would, beyond all doubt, have been ready to tolerate both;" and that "Elizabeth might have united all conflicting sects under the shelter of the same impartial laws and the same paternal throne, and thus have placed the nation in the same situation, as far as the rights of conscience are concerned, in which we at last stand." * We can as readily believe that, without the experience of three centuries, Elizabeth might have bestowed upon her people the relief from the system of commercial restriction which we have at length attained. "Confidence," said Chatham, "is a plant of slow growth;" and so is toleration. Lament as we may with the great historian over "the heart-burnings, the persecutions, the conspiracies, the seditions, the revolutions, the judicial murders, the civil wars, of ten generations," we have no assurance that the rights of conscience could have been established without such fearful trials of a nation's courage and endurance. Whilst the storm of papal bigotry was raging in the Netherlands and in France,—whilst Knox was proclaiming in Scotland that one mass was more fearful to him than ten thousand armed men, and carrying the people with him,—it is difficult to imagine that England could have been smoothed into a perfect indifference, or that England would have been what she is if she had been so "rocked and dandled" into liberality. But there was, moreover, a strong party in England that would not have endured anything approaching to union between Protestant and Roman Catholic. The Act of the 5th of Elizabeth, which excluded Roman Catholics from the House of Commons, gave an ascendancy in that house to the more earnest reformers—those who had very influential supporters in the queen's own councils, though their hostility to any ceremony or practice of the church supposed to be an approach to the old worship, was very obnoxious to the queen herself. That contest between the establishment and the Puritans which convulsed England for many a year, and of which the traces are by no means extinct, was actively beginning before the "halcyon days" were past. That spirit which would admit of no toleration for papists had, in a few years, to fight its own battle against intolerance. But the "ice-brook temper" of the sword, then in its sheath, which was to be drawn seventy years afterwards, was known to some in this parliament. A motion for a further reformation of religion was made in the House of Commons on the 6th of April, by Mr. Strickland, "a grave and

* Macaulay, "Essays—Burleigh and his Times."

ancient man, of great zeal," says the reporter, sir Simonds D'Ewes. Having set forth various abuses he moved that a convenient number of the house might have conference with the Lords spiritual. During the Easter recess; Mr. Strickland was called before the Privy Council, and commanded not to resume his seat in the house. Then rose in his place Mr. Carleton, and moved that Mr. Strickland should be sent for to the bar of the House, "forasmuch as he was not now a private man, but specially chosen to supply the room of a multitude;" and Mr. Yelverton "showed it was fit for princes to have their prerogatives, but yet the same to be straitened within reasonable limits." The ministers of Elizabeth understood the force of such words, and they whispered with the Speaker. The debate was suspended; and the next day Mr. Strickland took his seat, amidst cheers whose echoes reverberated in that Chapel of St. Stephen, when kings, long afterwards, had forgotten their import.

The duke of Norfolk had been released from his imprisonment in the Tower on the 4th of August, 1570. On the 7th of September, 1571, he was again arrested. During the thirteen months of his comparative freedom he was in a sort of honourable custody, and was not called to Council or to Parliament. Before his release from the Tower he had sent a declaration to the queen, in which he had solemnly engaged "never to deal in that cause of marriage of the queen of Scots, nor in any other cause belonging to her, but as your majesty shall command me." In April, 1571, a correspondence was detected, which showed that some treasonable project was in course of formation. Further correspondence was intercepted in August, and various persons were arrested. Amongst these was the bishop of Ross, who, after pleading in vain that his privilege as an ambassador from the queen of Scots ought to shield him from answering questions, made a full declaration, which was corroborated by the confessions of the other prisoners. The duke was tried on a charge of high treason by his peers, on the 16th of January, 1572. All the previous transactions connected with the plan of marriage with the queen of Scots were entered into; and it was urged that his continued desire for that alliance had a view to Mary's claim to the present possession of the crown of England. This was very slight matter upon which to found the accusation of an overt act of treason. The more serious charge was, that through the agency of Rudolphi, an Italian, who had been sent by Mary to the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva, he had received assurances of the support of these personages to a plan for uniting Mary with the duke, for seizing the person of Elizabeth, and for landing a foreign army in England. Mr. Jardine, in his excellent report of this great trial, expresses his opinion, from a critical examination of the voluminous documents connected with the Rudolphi conspiracy, that, "though the duke was probably a tool in the hands of persons more artful than himself, he probably participated in the scheme." The trial itself was conducted with such fairness as is compatible with evidence mainly resting upon the confessions of absent persons, some of which were extorted by the rack, or by its terror. Norfolk was unanimously condemned; but his execution was deferred till the 2nd of June. Again and again, Elizabeth revoked the warrant which consigned him to the block. The duke was the chief of the English nobles. He was of royal lineage. He was the son of the illustrious Surrey who had perished under the jealousy of

her father. There were many causes for Elizabeth hesitating when, for the first time, she was called to shed the blood of an English peer, besides the dissimulation which some are ready to impute to her. There is a real struggle of mind to be traced in her letter to Burleigh, received by him at two o'clock of the morning of the 11th of April, when, in her obscure style, she writes, "My lord, methinks that I am more beholding to the hinder part of my head than well dare trust the forwards side of the same, and therefore sent to the lieutenant and the S. [sheriff?], as you know best, the order to defer the execution till they hear further. . . The causes that move me to this are not now to be expressed, lest an irrevocable deed be in mean while committed."*

The spectacle of a great nobleman perishing upon the scaffold was not amongst the experiences of the rising generation of England. The catastrophe of Norfolk made a popular impression in proportion to the rarity of such an exhibition. The very aspect of the place of punishment was suggestive of political remembrances. "Upon Tower-hill," says Holinshed, "a scaffold had been builded many years ago, serving for execution; which being old was both rotten and ruinous. For queen Elizabeth having with mercy governed her commonwealth, there was no punishment there inflicted upon any for the space of fourteen years; wherefore a new scaffold must needs be made." The penalty which the duke had incurred by meddling with the affair of the queen of Scots could not deter others from the same dangerous course. Two Derbyshire gentlemen were tried and executed in May, upon a charge of having corresponded with Mary for the purpose of delivering her from the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. The affairs of Scotland had become more and more distracted since the period of the detention of the queen. The regent Murray had been assassinated, from motives of private revenge, at Linlithgow, in January, 1570. Lennox, the father of Darnley, had succeeded him. He, also, was assassinated in September, 1571. The country was enduring some of the worst miseries of a civil war between the two factions of catholic and presbyterian, contending, one in the name of Mary, and the other in the name of her son. On the 30th of July, 1572, there was a truce between these fierce opponents; and it is possible that some negotiations might have successfully proceeded between those who made the restoration of Mary a condition of pacification, and the reformers, who might have thought it possible to secure their ascendancy, even under "the wicked woman" whom Knox continued to denounce, had not an event occurred which produced a rage against the Romanists, both in England and Scotland, compared with which all previous indignation was moderate.

The Huguenots of France were a body isolated from their countrymen, who viewed them with dislike,—sometimes conciliated and sometimes persecuted by the Court, as their support was sought or rejected by the mere ambitious factions that alternately prevailed. In 1570, a treaty was concluded between them and the young king, Charles IX.; who professed great anxiety for reconciliation with this portion of his subjects. The great Huguenot leader, Coligny, Admiral of France, was earnestly pressed to repair to the king's court; to which, after some manifestations of distrust, he went in the autumn of 1571. The sister of Charles was pressed in marriage

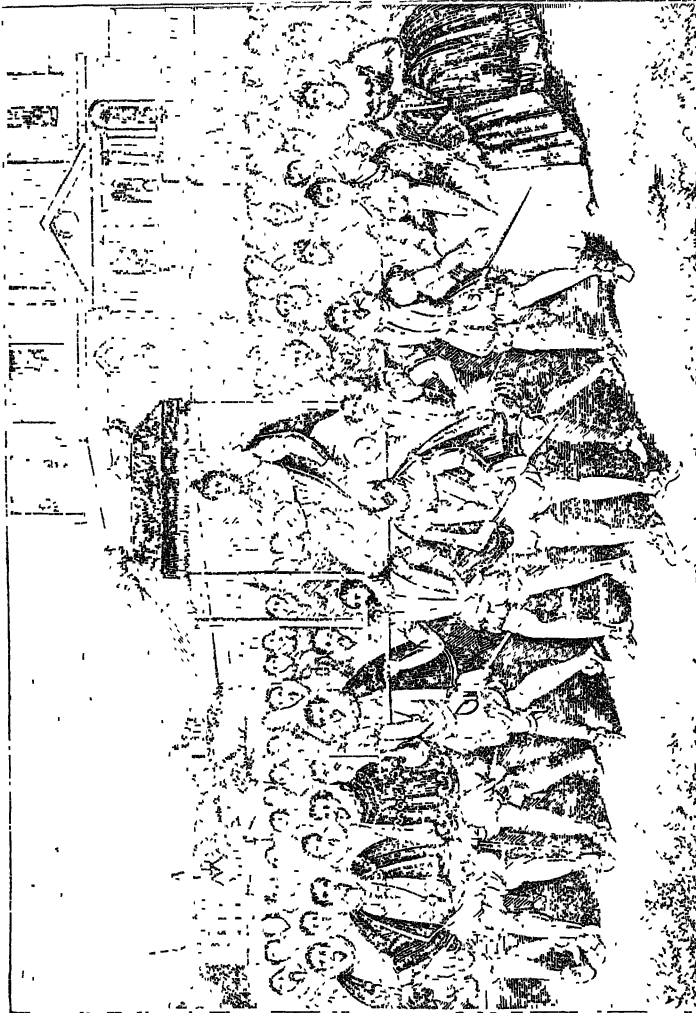
* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 263.

upon the prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV.; and that marriage was celebrated with great magnificence on the 18th of August, 1572. England had made a treaty with France, which had for one of its objects to wrest the Netherlands from Spain; and the advisers of Elizabeth had recommended a marriage with the duke of Alençon, the younger son of Catherine de Medici, who had given intimation of his disposition to favour the Protestants. Like many other recommendations of her Council and her Parliament, the queen of England treated this proposal with civility, but with a secret determination, from whatever cause it proceeded, not to marry at all. Under these circumstances the apprehension that there was a deep confederacy for the annihilation of Protestantism began to be lessened. The Huguenots were drawn in large numbers to Paris by the festivities of the marriage of the French princess with Henry of Navarre, their acknowledged head. On the 22d of August, Coligny was shot from the window of a house occupied by a dependant of the duke of Guise. His wounds were not dangerous. The king, with his mother, Catherine, visited the wounded man. The queen-mother could ill disguise her alarm when the admiral began to speak earnestly with the king, whilst the house was filled with Coligny's armed retainers. She had concerted the assassination with the duke of Anjou and the duchess of Nemours, whose first husband had been slain by a Huguenot. A cautious historian says, speaking of Catherine de Medici, "The Huguenots won over the king, and appeared to supplant her influence over him. This personal danger put an end to all delay. With that resistless and magical power which she possessed over her children, she re-awakened all the slumbering fanaticism of her son. It cost her but one word to rouse the populace to arms, and that word she spoke. Every individual Huguenot of note was delivered over to the vengeance of his personal enemy."* This is, perhaps, a better solution of a disputed question than the theory that Charles IX., a very young man, weak and impulsive, vacillating and ferocious, was such a master of dissimulation, that for several years he could have deceived the English ambassador, Walsingham, into a belief that he was favourable to the Protestants whilst meditating their destruction. On the other hand, the jealousy of Catherine is a more rational explanation of her conduct, than the belief that the Massacre of St. Bartholomew had been part of a plan for the extirpation of Protestantism, settled between that fearful woman and the duke of Alva, in their conferences at Bayonne, in 1564. These questions have formed the subject of much historical controversy. The terrible events that followed the attempt to assassinate Coligny admit of no dispute. On the 23rd of August, according to the account given by Charles himself to his sister Margaret, after the noontide dinner of the court he was told of a treasonable conspiracy of the Huguenots against himself and his family. It would be necessary, his relations said, to anticipate the designs of the conspirators by their previous destruction. He gave his consent, and expressed his hope that not a single Huguenot would be left alive to reproach him with the deed. Night had descended upon Paris. There was no alarm, as bands of assassins silently congregated in the streets. A signal was to be given when the work of slaughter was to commence.

* Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. ii. p. 69.

The king, his mother, and Anjou sate amidst darkness and stillness in a balcony of the Louvre. The noise of a pistol is heard, and Charles trembles in the agony of guilty expectation. At length the clocks of Paris strike two. Then the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois tolled forth the signal. The duke of Guise bursts into the defenceless courts where Coligny slept, and three hundred men slaughter him and his followers. His body is cast out of the window, and the cry of 'Death to the Huguenots,' amidst the sound of the tocsin, wakes up the fanatical citizens, and one universal butchery of the protestants is being accomplished. For three days the slaughter goes on; and the fury extends to Orleans, Lyons, Troyes, Rouen, Toulouse, Bourdeaux, and other towns. We may choose what estimate we please of the number of victims, from the highest estimate of a hundred thousand, to the extenuating calculation of Dr. Lingard that there might be about sixteen hundred. Whatever was the number, the massacre was considered as a glorious triumph for the catholics. The pope, now Gregory XIII., celebrated the event by a solemn procession; and the pious Venetians expressed their satisfaction at this mark of God's favour. Charles, in his despatches to foreign courts, bewailed the massacre, and imputed it to the populace of Paris. To his parliament he avowed himself the author, and claimed the glory of having given peace to his kingdom. He sent an ambassador to England, to explain away the causes of this termination of his proposed tender mercies to the Protestants. The queen was at Woodstock; and when the envoy was admitted to a public audience, he had to pass between two lines of lords and ladies in deep mourning. Not a word was uttered as he advanced towards the queen, who also wore the deepest black. It was the chamber of death which he seemed to have entered. Motionless and silent was every courtier as he made his salutations. Elizabeth heard with perfect calmness the lying excuses which he was intrusted to utter. Charles wrote letters to her, which she first refused to answer; but afterwards replied to with courteous words. But her measured civility produced an impression in France that Elizabeth was about to arm. There was a general terror in England that the example of St. Bartholomew's day would spread. The bishop of London writes to lord Burleigh, on the 5th of September, "These evil times trouble all good men's heads, and make their hearts ache, fearing that this barbarous treachery will not cease in France, but will reach over unto us. . . . Hasten her majesty homeward; her safe return to London will comfort many hearts oppressed with fear." The bishop, Edwin Sandys, then advises, amongst other precautions, "Forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head." Walsingham writes from France that "certain unsound members must be cut off," for "violent diseases will have violent remedies." Elizabeth would not comply with these suggestions, pressed on her, as they were, by the terrors of her subjects and the counsels of her ministers. But there appears little doubt that she was cognisant of a plot between some of these ministers and the earl of Mar, the regent of Scotland, to deliver Mary up, that she might be put to death by her own people. It is not so clear, as Mr. Tytler believes, that she was to be secretly made away with. The death of Mar put an end to these dark intrigues; and Burleigh was left to make his moan that "if her majesty will continue her delays, for providing for

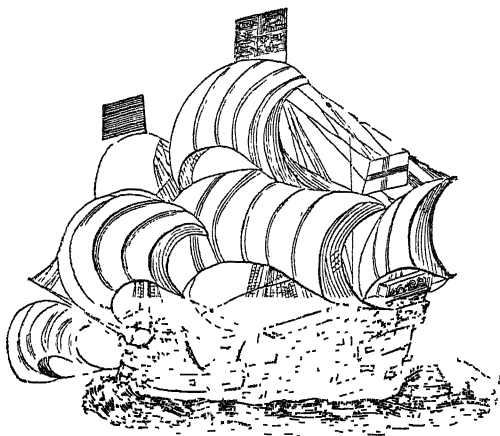
her own surety by just means given to her by God, she and we shall vainly call upon God when the calamity shall fall upon us." Those means "for her own surety" were not employed by the queen for fourteen years; and, however indefensible they may have been when called into exercise, it is an abuse of historical evidence to represent that her perpetual anxiety was to get rid of



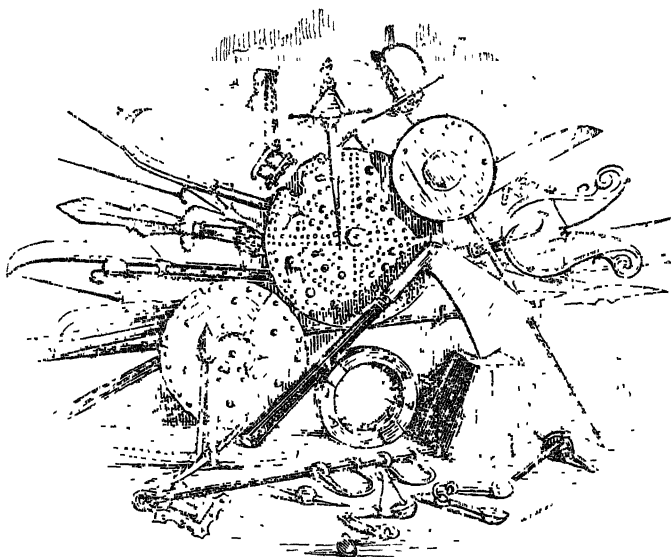
Queen Elizabeth surrounded by her Court. (From a Print by Vertue.)

her hated rival. There might be deep policy in Elizabeth's delays; but her jealousies and fears must have been under some subjection to a higher feeling, when she was hounded on by those in whom she had the surest trust; by the petitions of the Commons and the clamour of the populace; to do a deed for which all the bells of London would have rung, but which she shrunk from, to

remain in perpetual apprehension of losing crown and life. Unless we can believe, against all proof, that such danger was imaginary, we must be content to think that each of these queens was the victim of a sad necessity; and that some of the wretchedness which Mary had to endure in her lonely prisons was not unfelt by Elizabeth in her gorgeous court. But it awakens, indeed, a painful contrast to imagine the one queen wearing out her life in some inaccessible castle; working tapestry with her maidens in gloomy rooms; walking in the narrow garden, or gazing from the guarded turret; waiting eagerly for news which never comes; sending secret letters which are intercepted; watched by a stately earl and his haughty countess: and then to read of the other making joyful progresses, and smiling upon loving subjects; borne on the willing shoulders of handsome courtiers, amidst "throngs of knights" and "store of ladies;" feasting at Kenilworth with Leicester, or opening the Royal Exchange with Gresham; speaking Greek with the Greek professor at Oxford, or correcting the exercises of the scholars at Eton. It is indeed a sad contrast. But in our pity for the one queen we must not forego our respect for the other,—for the queen who, despotic as she was, always relied upon the people—who, as Mr. Macaulay has most justly said, "did not treat the nation as an adverse party:" the queen under whose auspices Drake circumnavigated the world, and Raleigh founded Virginia; the queen whose name will be ever associated with the splendid literature of her age, for that sprang out of the emancipation of the national mind which she was the great instrument of accomplishing.



Drake. His ship.



Arms, &c., from the Tower Armoury.

CHAPTER XII.

Jesuits in England—Campion—Increased severities against Papists—Expedition to the Netherlands—Leicester in the Netherlands—Death of Sir Philip Sidney—Naval successes under Drake—Babington's conspiracy—Trial of the conspirators—Alleged complicity of Mary in the plot—Mary's papers seized—She is removed to Fotheringay Castle.

FROM the terrible day of Saint Bartholomew in 1572, to the detection of the conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth in 1586, the struggles between the two great principles of Romanism and Protestantism was incessant in England. The government was earnestly supported in this contest by what was now a large majority of its subjects ; for although the opinions of the Puritans had become a serious source of alarm to the Established Church, this party never swerved from a general loyalty to the queen, even under persecution. We shall defer, till another chapter, a general notice of this Protestant schism ; and here confine ourselves to a rapid view of the events in which the hostility between the old and the new religions was the principal element.

In 1580, the pope, Gregory XIII., at the suggestion of William Allen, despatched a body of Jesuits to England. The mission of these religious enthusiasts was to attempt the re-conversion of the heretic islanders. They were led and organised by Robert Parsons and Edmond Campion, who had formerly belonged to colleges in Oxford, and had been avowed Protestants before their conversion to Romanism. Out of the college of Douay, in which

Campion was professor of divinity, came many of those ardent spirits who professed to interpret the bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth in a purely religious sense, but who, nevertheless, were not regarded by the English government as other than secret and most dangerous traitors. The parliament of 1581 met this inroad of able Englishmen, trained in the school of Loyola to extraordinary subtlety and invincible determination, by the most stringent enactments. The first Act of the session of the 23rd of Elizabeth recites that the Statute against bringing in bulls and writings from Rome has been evaded; and that "divers evil-affected persons have practised contrary to the meaning of the said statute, by other means than by bulls written and printed, to withdraw the queen's majesty's subjects from their natural obedience to her majesty," &c. This is distinctly levelled against those who interpreted the decrees of the see of Rome through their oral communications; who, invested with especial authority, moved quietly about from town to town, and from village to village; who were cherished and concealed in mansions where they were cautiously introduced to persons of wavering opinions. The statute makes it a treasonable offence to pretend to any power of absolving subjects from their obedience, or practising to withdraw them to the Romish religion; and all subjects thus willingly absolved or withdrawn from their obedience were also to be deemed traitors. Those who said mass or attended mass, and those who did not attend church, were subject to heavy penalties. The proceedings against Campion and others are such as strikingly exhibit the unfairness and cruelty of trials for treason, as then conducted. Campion was arrested in Berkshire, in July, 1581; and was lodged in the Tower with two other priests. He was tortured; and revealed the names of those who had sheltered him. He was questioned, again and again, upon the power of the pope to depose sovereigns, and, his answers being evasive, he was racked with increased severity. Finally, he was tried for high-treason, not under the statute of 1581, but under that of Edward III., for compassing and imagining the queen's death. Others were tried and convicted with him; but three were spared, who renounced the pope's deposing power. It was a principle of the Jesuits that the pope had an undoubted right to deprive kings of their crowns. The Romanist exiles had proclaimed throughout Europe that the heretic Elizabeth was an usurper. The English government rested its defence of the severities which it had practised, upon the ground that the persecutions were not directed against religious tenets; that catholics, whether of the laity or the priesthood, lived unmolested on the score of their faith, when they paid due temporal allegiance to their sovereign; and that none were indicted for treason but such as obstinately maintained the pope's bull depriving the queen of the crown. Gregory XIII. had opened the door to evasion of this charge, by granting to Romanists a permission to dissemble, under the colour of an explanation, "that the bull should be considered as always in force against Elizabeth and the heretics, but should only be binding on catholics when due execution of it could be had:"*—that is, that they should obey till they were strong enough to throw off their allegiance. The queen's High Court of Commission would not accept this interpretation: "The prisoners were called upon to say, if the pope were to absolve them from their oath of

* Hallam, "Constitutional History,"

allegiance, and to attack England, what they should do, and which side they should support. The miserable frightened men knew not how to extricate themselves from this dilemma. They answered that they would render unto God what was God's, and unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's; but this evasion was itself interpreted into a confession by their judges. Thus the prisons were filled; execution followed upon execution; and Catholicism, in its turn, had its martyrs." * The severities of the laws against papists went on increasing. In 1584, all Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests, were commanded by Act of parliament, to depart from the kingdom within forty days, on pain of being adjudged traitors; and penalties were to be inflicted upon those, who knowing any priest to be within the realm, should not denounce him to a magistrate. These intolerant enactments produced the very opposite consequences that were contemplated by the legislature. It was probably difficult to restrain the zealotry of some of the more fiery Protestants. In a memorial to the queen in 1583, Burleigh thus sensibly speaks of the results of enforcing penal laws against such as refused the oath of supremacy: "I account that putting to death does no ways lessen them; since we find by experience that it worketh no such effect, but, like hydra's heads, upon cutting off one, seven grow up; persecution being accounted as the badge of the church: and, therefore, they should never have the honour to take any pretence of martyrdom in England, where the fulness of blood and greatness of heart is such, that they will even for shameful things go bravely to death, much more when they think themselves to climb to heaven; and this vice of obstinacy seems to the common people a divine constancy; so that for my part, I wish no lessening of their number, but by preaching and by education of the younger under schoolmasters." †

The reign of Elizabeth was, happily for the progress of the country, singularly exempt from foreign wars. Her policy was of the most cautious nature; involving upon the face of it some insincerity. In her relations to France and to Spain, when the governments were oppressing their Protestant subjects, she abstained, except in 1562, from sending troops to the assistance of those with whom she was identified in principle. But indirect aid she on many occasions afforded. Thus, in 1577, she had assisted the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, whose commissioners had, in 1575, offered her the sovereignty, which she declined to accept. But ten years later it had become of essential importance to England to weaken the power of Philip of Spain, by keeping alive the cause of independence and religious freedom in the Low Countries. The assassination of the prince of Orange in 1584, by a religious fanatic, excited by the reward which Philip II. had set upon his head, had produced a fierce indignation in England against the bigoted king of Spain. The schemes of Philip and pope Sixtus V. for the invasion of the contumacious island were no longer concealed. The Jesuits and seminary priests had been steadily endeavouring to weaken whatever spirit of patriotism remained amongst the English catholics. It was a wise resolve, therefore, of Elizabeth's government to break through that superstitious love of peace which influenced the queen, and boldly encounter Philip on his own ground. Elizabeth was very slow to consent to engage in a war

* Ranke, vol. ii. p. 168.

† Quoted in Hallam, chap. iii.

in the Netherlands. To support subjects against their sovereign, appeared to her as treason against the rights of monarchs. The democratic government of the United Provinces was to her an anomaly which she held in scorn. Above all, she dreaded, and wisely, expenses which would fall heavily upon her people. But her old sagacious counsellor, Burleigh, the acute Walsingham, and the favourite Leicester, prevailed over her scruples, and an expedition was determined upon at the end of 1585. Burleigh, writing to



Earl of Leicester.

Leicester, who was appointed to its command, says, "For the advancement of the action, if I should not with all the powers of my heart continually both wish and work advancement thereto, I were to be an accursed person in the sight of God; considering the ends of this action tend to the glory of God, to the safety of the queen's person, to the preservation of this realm in a perpetual quietness." * Elizabeth had again declined the sovereignty which had been again offered her by the commissioners of the States; and she now instructed Leicester also to refuse their offer to put themselves under the absolute control

* "Leicester Correspondence," p. 21.

of the lieutenant she should send with her army, but to exhort them to listen to his advice. The extreme eagerness of the ambitious earl to undertake this command, offering even to pawn his estates to the Crown to cover some of the expenses of the undertaking, seems to indicate that he had personal designs upon that sovereignty which his queen had rejected. On the 10th December, the English fleet was near Flushing. Leicester was received with pageantries which appear to have thrown him off that balance which it was somewhat hazardous for one of Elizabeth's ministers to lose. On New Year's Day, 1586, the States General, by a solemn deputation, offered the queen of England's lieutenant the absolute government of the United Provinces. He first hesitated, then yielded to further supplications, and on the 25th of January accepted the dangerous honour. On that day, a letter was written to him expressive of the queen's dislike of his proceedings. He had sent his secretary with explanations, but his arrival was unaccountably delayed. Then the queen herself wrote a letter to the earl, which is one of the most remarkable examples of that force of character which she frequently displayed in the nervous words of her correspondence. There was no chance of mistaking the meaning of such sentences as these: "We could never have imagined, had we not seen it fall out in experience, that a man raised up by ourself, and extraordinarily favoured by us above any other subject of this land, would have in so contemptible a sort broken our commandment in a cause that so greatly toucheth us in honour. . . . Our express pleasure and commandment is, that all delays and excuses laid apart, you do presently, upon the duty of your allegiance, obey and fulfil whatsoever the bearer hereof shall direct you to do in our name: whereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your uttermost peril."* One who could thus write might not be an amiable mistress to serve; but she was a queen fit to be at the head of a great nation. She had sent an army to assist the people of the Low Countries to maintain their civil privileges and their religious faith against Philip and against Rome; and was she to contradict her own published declarations? was her servant to disobey her positive instructions? It was very long before the anger of the queen could be softened. She withdrew from her first intention to compel Leicester publicly to lay down his authority, but she restricted its exercise in many ways which were irksome to so proud a man. The war was altogether mismanaged. The prince of Parma, who commanded the troops of Spain, was an experienced general. Leicester was always hesitating; sometimes successful through the bravery of his captains; but gradually losing fortress after fortress, and obtaining petty advantages with no permanent results. There was one in his army who, in this disastrous campaign, closed a short career of military experience, but who has left a name which Englishmen still cherish amongst their most eminent examples of real greatness. Few were the heroic deeds of Philip Sidney, but his heart was the seat of true heroism. The rare scholar, the accomplished writer, the perfect gentleman, might have been forgotten as a soldier, if his night-march upon Axel, and its daring capture, had been his chief title to distinction. But his demeanour when he was carried wounded

* "To my lord of Leycester from the queen by sir Thomas Heneage," "Leycester Correspondence," p. 110.

from the walls of Zutphen, will never be forgotten. His friend, lord Brooke, has told the story, which, known as it is to every schoolboy, must be repeated in every History of England if that history is to show of what material our heroes have been made. "Passing along by the rear of the army where his uncle [Leicester] the general was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for some drink, which was presently brought him. But as he was putting the bottle to his mouth he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had



Sir Philip Sidney

eaten his last at the same feast, ghastly casting up his eyes at the bottle; which sir Philip perceiving took it from his head before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man with these words, 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.'" Being repulsed at Zutphen, Leicester shortly went into winter-quarters. The expedition came to an end without calling forth any higher qualities in the general than might naturally be expected from an intriguing courtier; showing, indeed, that the raw levies of England might be led to fight valiantly; but also showing that, without the habitual discipline of a regular army, they could not stand up against starvation and other consequences of mismanage-

ment. There had been a long peace; and even in the warlike times of the Plantagenets armies were often lost from the natural difficulties of obtaining supplies. But in those times the feudal relations of lord and vassal kept men together under the direst pressure of want. Leicester's army was without food or clothes; and they deserted by hundreds. The old organisation was broken up; the organisation of modern times was not established.

The partial failure of the expedition to the Low Countries was in some measure compensated by the naval successes against Spain. Philip had laid an embargo upon English vessels and property, through the extent of his wide dominions. Elizabeth did not fit out royal fleets; but she gave her subjects permission to seize Spanish ships or merchandise wherever they were to be found. This war of privateering was perfectly suited to the Anglo-Saxon character. The spirit of the old Norsemen was revived; and the hope of gain sent hardy adventurers into distant seas, and eager colonists to search for new lands to subdue. The daring spirits of Elizabeth's reign have a strong similitude to the pirates and buccaneers that became odious when they were no longer wanted, and to the filibusters that are still offensive to European civilisation. But they led the way to England's maritime and colonial glories; and if they plundered somewhat too freely, and destroyed too mercilessly, they had large national objects in view as well as private lucre. Drake, in his expedition to the West Indies in 1585, with twenty-five ships, of which only two belonged to the crown, destroyed several Spanish settlements; took Carthagená and San Domingo; and brought home a considerable amount of treasure and two hundred and forty pieces of ordnance.

Whilst the battle between the two great principles that were dividing Europe was being fairly fought out by England and Spain, horse to horse, and ship to ship, there was a more deadly strife about to be waged, with all the inveteracy of war without its honours. In a letter from Walsingham in London to Leicester in the Low Countries, dated the 9th of July, 1586, we hear the first mutterings of the coming storm. The secretary alludes to "the discovery of some matter of importance, in the highest degree, through my travail and cost;" a secret about which he cannot write, but which the gentleman who bears the letter is to communicate to the earl. He then adds, "my only fear is that her majesty will not use the matter with that secrecy which appertaineth . . . and surely, if the matter be well handled, it will break the neck of all dangerous practices during her majesty's reign."* The handling of such a matter by Francis Walsingham could not be other than successful—if success it could be called to "break the neck of all dangerous practices" by a deed which the historian of the Reformation mildly deems "the greatest blemish of this reign;" which others describe as an act of unparalleled wickedness; but which was then held as a political necessity, of which we, who live in happier times, and are trained to very different feelings, are no competent judges. Walsingham saw that the conspiracy of a missionary priest with some enthusiastic young men for the deliverance of Mary might involve her in their plot for the assassination of Elizabeth. The

* "Leicester Correspondence," p. 341.

secretary, though a statesman of rare disinterestedness and general integrity, was so vigilant in the detection of plots against his mistress, that his spies and secret agents were in every court abroad, and in every suspected house at home. In what is meant for panegyric it is said of him, "he outdid the Jesuits in their own bow, and over-reached them in their own equivocation and mental reservation. . . . He would cherish a plot some years together, admitting the conspirators to his own and the queen's presence familiarly. His spies waited on some men every hour for three years."* This was the man, with his maxims that "knowledge is never too dear," and that "secrecy is policy and virtue," whom a dozen rash young catholics, incited by a fanatical priest, thought to circumvent.

In February, 1585, Dr. William Parry was convicted of high treason, and he was executed on the 2nd of March. His career was a very extraordinary one. He was, after 1580, employed as "a collector of secret intelligence in foreign countries." He had a pension given him in 1584. He is tried as a public enemy six months afterwards. On his trial he made a confession which implicated one Morgan, an agent of Mary at Paris for the receipt and administration of her dower as queen of France. His statement was to this effect: "In October [1582] I came to Paris, where (upon better opinion conceived of me amongst my catholic countrymen) I found my credit well settled, and such as mistrusted me before ready to trust and embrace me. And being one day at the chamber of Thomas Morgan, a catholic gentleman (greatly beloved and trusted on that side), amongst other gentlemen, talking of England, I was desired by Morgan to go up with him to another chamber, where he told me that it was hoped and looked for that I should do some service for God and his church. I answered him, I would do it, if it were to kill the greatest subject in England, whom I named, and in truth then hated. 'No, no,' said he, 'let him live to his greater fall and ruin of his house. It is the queen I mean.' I told him 'it were soon done if it might be lawfully done, and warranted in the opinion of some learned divines.' And so the doubt once resolved (though, as you have heard, I was before reasonably well satisfied), I vowed to undertake the enterprise for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the see apostolic."

Elizabeth was greatly enraged against Morgan, and called upon the king of France to deliver him up. This was refused; but Morgan was sent to the Bastille. Full of plans of revenge, he procured means of correspondence with Mary, and had various agents in England, some of whom were unable to elude the vigilance of Walsingham, and yielded up their secrets to the wary minister, or became his own dark sentinels.† In the summer and autumn of 1585, a catholic priest came to England, who was dressed as an officer, and moved about under the name of Fortescue. His real name was John Ballard. One of Walsingham's intelligencers obtained his confidence; and after visiting various parts of this island they proceeded to Paris. Here Ballard saw Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador; and proposed to him, that during the absence of English forces in the Netherlands, an army should be landed,

* Lloyd, "State Worthies," pp. 514-516.

† Lloyd's happy definition of a spy was "a dark sentinel."

whose presence would be the signal for a general rising in favour of the queen of Scots. The ambassador gave little encouragement to this scheme; and Ballard turned to other devices. There was an English officer of the name of Savage, who had undertaken to assassinate Elizabeth; and Ballard came back to England to tempt violent partisans into listening to this proposal. He addressed himself to Anthony Babington, a gentleman of Dethick, in Derbyshire. He had always professed a chivalrous devotion to the cause of Mary; and had been the medium of transmitting letters to her when she was at Sheffield castle. He adopted the proposal that Savage should kill the queen; but he held that it was a plan of too much importance to be left to one man's resolution; and that six should engage in that service, whilst others should liberate the queen of Scots. There can be no doubt that here was a real plot. Young men, the friends of Babington, were induced to enter into the scheme, to their eventual destruction. One of the most interesting of these was Chidick Titchbourne, of Porchester, in Hampshire; and in the address which he delivered at his execution, we may see how such rash and criminal projects found acceptance with ardent and generous minds:—"I had a friend, and a dear friend, of whom I made no small account, whose friendship hath brought me to this; he told me the whole matter, I cannot deny, as they had laid it down to be done; but I always thought it impious, and denied to be a dealer in it; but the regard of my friend caused me to be a man in whom the old proverb was verified; I was silent, and so consented. Before this thing chanced, we lived together in most flourishing estate. Of whom went report in the Strand, Fleet-street, and elsewhere about London, but of Babington and Titchbourne? No threshold was of force to brave our entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for; and God knows what less in my head than matters of state. Now give me leave to declare the miseries I sustained after I was acquainted with the action, wherein I may justly compare my estate to that of Adam's, who could not abstain one thing forbidden, to enjoy all other things the world could afford; the terror of conscience awaited me. After I considered the dangers whereinto I was fallen, I went to sir John Peters, in Essex, and appointed my horses should meet me at London, intending to go down into the country. I came to London, and then heard that all was bewrayed; whereupon, like Adam, we fled into the woods to hide ourselves."

The employment of spies by a government necessarily leads to the belief that the spy incites the enterprise which he is commissioned to discover. Walsingham was acquainted with this conspiracy through a seminary priest of the name of Gifford; and, says Dr. Lingard, "that artful minister, while he smiled at the infatuation of the youths, who had thus entangled themselves in the toils, was busily employed in weaving a new intrigue, and planning the ruin of a more illustrious victim." What that artful minister did is clear enough. He removed the difficulties which prevented Babington's correspondence with Mary; and he possessed himself of copies of that correspondence. The ruin of the more illustrious victim was accomplished by her own readiness to enter into a plan for her deliverance, founded upon invasion and insurrection, and the assassination of Elizabeth. This was the charge justly sustained against her, if the documents produced upon her trial were not forgeries.

On the 13th, 14th, and 15th of September, fourteen persons accused as treasonable conspirators were brought to trial. Babington, Ballard, and Savage, with four others, pleaded guilty. The remainder were also convicted. The executions of seven, on the 20th of September, were attended with the horrible barbarities of the full penalty of treason. In the case of the others these cruelties were dispensed with. Babington is held "to have behaved ungenerously. He it was who sought to inveigle the others into the conspiracy; and yet his confession was the chief proof against them." * In that confession, as given upon the trial of Mary, was also found what was alleged as a corroborative proof of her complicity with this attempt:—"He set down at large what conferences passed between B. [Ballard] and him, and the whole plot of conspiracy for the murder of Elizabeth, and deliverance of Mary. He declared further, that he did write a letter to the queen of Scotland touching every particular of this plot, and sent it by the same unknown boy [through whom he had corresponded previously]. She answered twenty or thirty days [after] in the same cipher by which he wrote unto her, but by another messenger. The tenour of both which letters he carried so well in memory, that he reported and set down all the principal points of the same, as upon conference of the said declaration with the copies of the said letters it appeared. Babington in all particular points prayed her direction; for instance, that six noble gentlemen would undertake that tragical execution." †

The queen of Scots had two secretaries, De Naou, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot. It appears from a letter of Elizabeth to Shrewsbury, that de Naou was recommended by the French king; and that she consented to his appointment, he having "promised that he shall carry himself in that even manner that becometh an honest minister." ‡ When the knowledge of the conspiracy was sufficiently mature, these secretaries were arrested, and the papers of Mary were seized and transmitted to the council. The queen of Scots was at Chartley, § in the county of Stafford. She had been removed from Tutbury in the beginning of 1586, which place she appears to have greatly disliked, saying, in one of her letters, "I suffered here so much rigour, insult, and indignity, that I have ever since looked on it as wretched and unfortunate." Mary was residing at Chartley when the discovery of the suspicions against her was abruptly communicated. She was riding to the chase, with sir Amyas Paulet, her two secretaries, and her usual attendants. On the way sir Thomas Gorges told her that he had received orders from the queen to take her to Tixhall, a country seat at a short distance, and that de Naou and Curle were to be arrested. She was very angry, and even called upon her people to protect her. But Gorges went one way with the secretaries, and Paulet another with the queen. Meanwhile a messenger from the Council had taken possession of Mary's papers. || Some days after, Mary was conducted back to Chartley; and found that her private cabinets had been opened, and her papers removed. On the 27th of August, Paulet thus reports of her demeanour as she left Tixhall, a seat of the Astons:—"As Mary was coming

* Lingard, vol. viii. note at p. 261.

† Raumer, p. 344.

‡ Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 278.

§ Lingard, perhaps by a typographical error, speaks of Mary's residence at Cuckney.

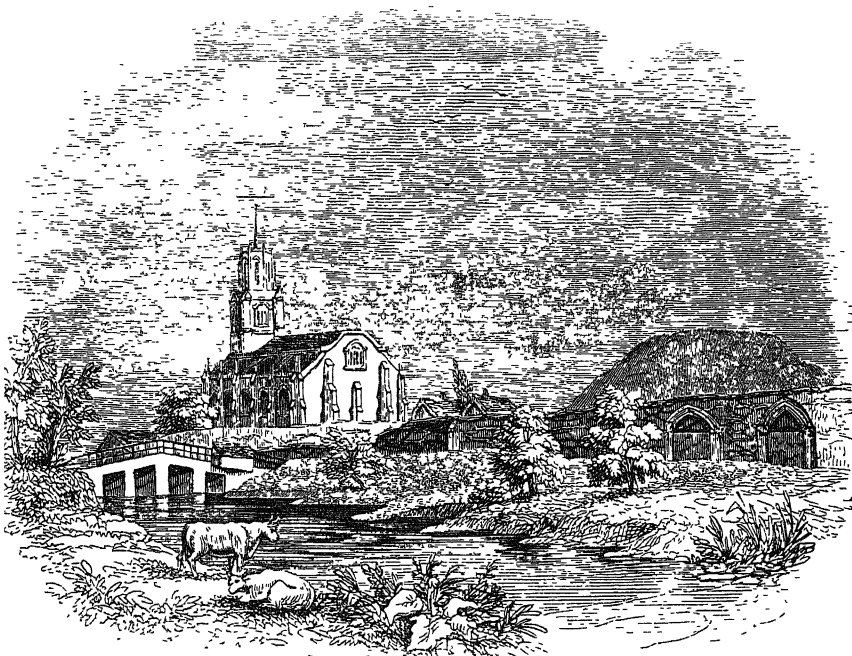
|| Letter from M. d'Esneval. Raumer, p. 315.

out of sir Walter Aston's gate, she said with a loud voice, weeping, to some poor folks which were there assembled, 'I have nothing for you, I am a beggar as well as you; all is taken from me.' And when she came to the gentleman, she said, weeping, 'Good God; I am not witting or privy to anything intended against the queen.' . . . On her coming hither Mr. Darell delivered the keys as well of her chamber as of her coffers to Bastian, which he refused by direction of his mistress, who required Mr. Darell to open her chamber-door, which he did, and then this lady, finding that the papers were taken away, said in great choler, that two things could not be taken away from her—her English blood and her catholic religion, which both she would keep unto her death, adding further these words, 'Some of you will be sorry for it,' meaning the taking away of her papers. I was not present when these words were spoken, but no doubt they reached unto me, in what sense she only knoweth. I may be sorry for others, but I know there is nothing in her papers that can give me cause to be sorry for myself."

The sensation produced upon the citizens of London, when the news of the Babington conspiracy first opened upon them, and the determination in the mind of Elizabeth to regard Mary as a principal in the design, are described in a letter of Chateauneuf, the French ambassador, to his king, Henry III. :—"I have not been able to send your majesty any information for the last fortnight, all the roads to France being closed on account of a conspiracy which was directed against the queen and the state. She told me herself that she has had from twenty-five to thirty persons, all catholics, arrested on account of it, and this continues daily. A great sensation was caused by it in this town, where the people are much incensed against the catholics; nay, for eight or ten days there was reason to apprehend that acts of violence would be committed upon all who were considered to be catholics. Bonfires were lighted in every street, and the bells rung for twenty-four hours together, because the queen had escaped from so great a danger. It was determined, it is said, to shoot the queen on the 15th of August, and, according to the plan agreed upon, every catholic in the kingdom was to take up arms, and place queen Mary on the throne. Elizabeth, at least, ascribes the whole undertaking to her, for which reason M. d'Esneval and I repaired to Windsor last Sunday, when she said to me, 'I know that the queen of Scotland contrived this. This, in truth, is repaying evil for good, and the more so as I have several times saved her life. The king of France will have news in a few days that will little please him.' . . . For the understanding of this, I must inform your majesty, that during the ten or twelve days that the investigations were carried on with the greatest ardour, there was a report in the city that this conspiracy had its origin in France, and that even your majesty and the king of Spain took part in it; that your fleet was in readiness to aid it, and that those leaders of the plot who had not yet been discovered were concealed in my house, and that it ought be forcibly searched. . . . I have accordingly complained of this report, and also of a thousand scandalous and insulting words which my people are exposed to in the streets; and that I was as if besieged, and in danger of being plundered. The only answer I received was, 'The people are greatly excited, and cannot be restrained.' " *

* Raumer, p. 317.

From Chartley, the queen of Scots was transferred to Fotheringay castle. This feudal pile, of which scarce a trace remains, was demolished by order of James VI., when he came to the English throne. Here Richard III. was born, and here Mary Stuart closed her life. Its associations were necessarily painful to James; and they probably offered some reproach to his conscience.



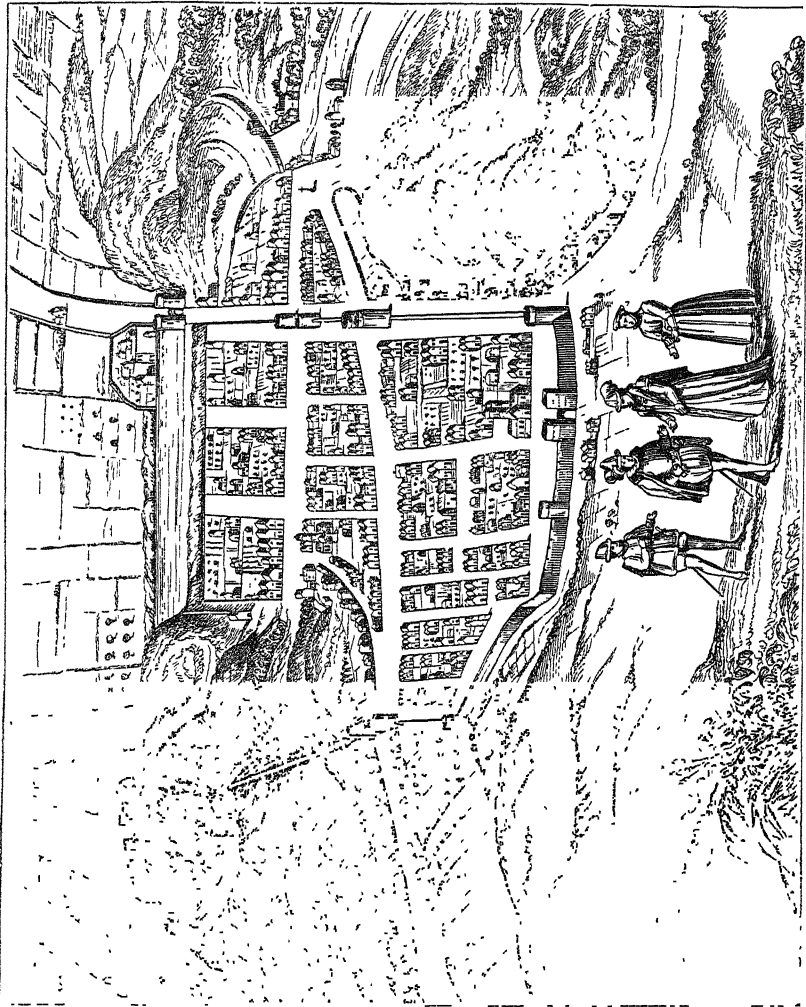
Fotheringay, as it appeared in 1718.

As we proceed to the close of the tragical history of his mother, we shall find sufficient evidence of the weakness and selfishness of this king. His endeavours to procure a mitigation of the fate of Mary, and his final resentment, were never very strenuous. He was always thinking of the splendid lot that was before him as successor to both thrones. It may be very reasonably conjectured, from the whole tenor of Elizabeth's conduct, that she designed James to succeed her; that she was perfectly aware of the inestimable benefits that would result to both countries from their union under one sovereign. Her solicitude was far greater for the good government of Scotland than was to be ascribed to her desire for a peaceful and protestant neighbour. She took James under her tutelage, and read him many a sage, and many a stern, admonition. There is a remarkable letter from Elizabeth to James VI., dated the 4th of October, 1586, which is a reply to a letter of James in which he congratulates the queen upon her escape from the conspiracy directed against her life. This characteristic letter of Elizabeth gives a dark hint of her

belief that the mother of the king of Scotland was accessory to this design. He would, indeed, shortly "hear all;" for at this very date it had been determined to put Mary upon her trial. A league between England and Scotland had been concluded a short time before this eventful season. "And for that the curse of that design rose up from the wicked suggestion of the Jesuits, which make it an acceptable sacrifice to God, and meritorious to themselves, that a king not of their profession should be murdered, therefore I could keep my pen no longer from discharging my care of your person, that you suffer not such vipers to inhabit your land. They say you gave leave under your hand that they might safely come and go. For God's love regard your surety above all persuasions, and account him no subject that entertains them. Make not edicts for scorn, but to be observed. Let them be rebels, and so pronounced, that preserve them. For my part, I am sorrier that they cast away so many goodly gentlemen than that they sought my ruin. I thank God I have taken more dolor for some that are guilty of this murder than bear them malice that they sought my death. I protest it before God. But such iniquity will not be hid, be it never so craftily handled; and yet, when you shall hear all, you will wonder that one accounted wise will use such matter so fondly." * There can be no doubt to whom the singular expression "one accounted wise" refers.

* "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. 38.

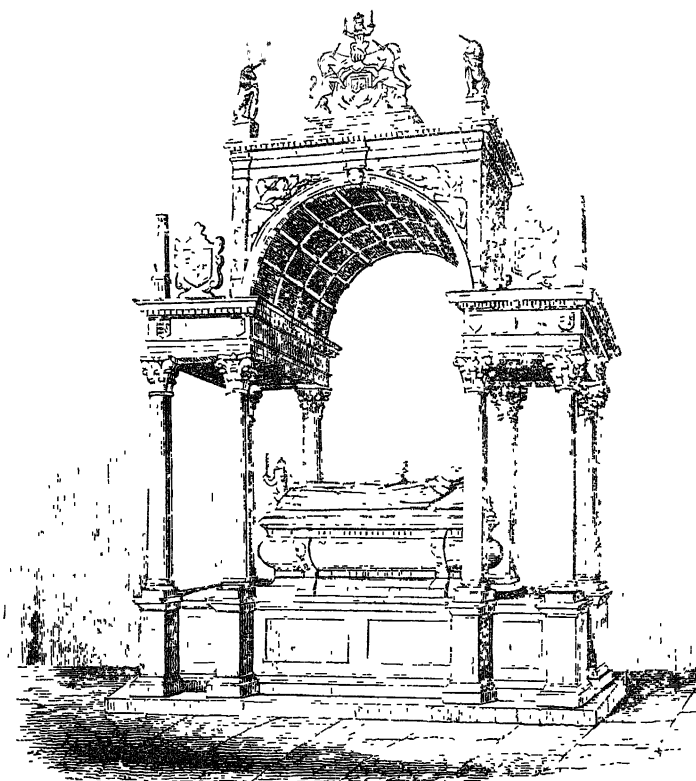
NOTE ON SCOTTISH AFFAIRS.



Plan of Edinburgh, from a print of the early part of the 17th century.

** The affairs of Scotland having, after the accession of queen Elizabeth, become more intimately connected with those of England; and some of the narratives of the preceding chapters having reference to events that occurred in and near the Scottish capital, we subjoin the above plan, which will enable the reader better to judge of the state of that interesting locality at this period, and in the early part of the next century.





Tomb of Mary, Queen of Scots, in the south aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey

CHAPTER XIII.

The Association—Statute for the surety of the queen's person—Commission for trial of Mary—Proceedings on the trial—Judgment against Mary—Conflicting opinions on this judgment—The parliament urge the execution of the sentence—The judgment proclaimed—Conduct of Elizabeth—Interview with Davison—Warrant of execution—Mary beheaded at Fotheringay—Elizabeth disavows her responsibility in this proceeding—The disavowal a self-deception—Note on the statements that Elizabeth desired that the Queen of Scots might be privately assassinated.

To judge correctly of the course of proceedings against the queen of Scots, we must go back to the session of parliament of 1584-5, when the nation was alarmed by well-founded apprehensions of a Spanish invasion, and by decisive indications of plots for the deposition of Elizabeth and the recognition of Mary's claim to the English crown. In that session a law was passed, entitled, "An Act for provision to be made for the surety of the queen's majesty's most royal person, and the continuance of the realm in peace."*

* 27 Eliz., c. 1.

Before the passing of this Act, a most extraordinary combination had been entered into, which is thus recognised in the fourth clause of the statute for the surety of the queen's person: "And whereas of late many of her majesty's good and faithful subjects, have, in the name of God, and with the testimony of good consciences, by one uniform manner of writing under their hands and seals, and by their several oaths voluntarily taken, joined themselves together in one Bond and Association, to withstand and revenge to the uttermost all such malicious actions and attempts against her majesty's most royal person." The specific object of the Association was much more explicitly defined in the instrument to which the good and faithful subjects had set their hands and seals. It was to the effect that if any attempt against the queen's person "shall be taken in hand or procured," whereby any should pretend title to come to the crown by the untimely death of the queen so procured, the Associators not only bind themselves never to allow of any such pretended successor, by whom or *for whom* any such act shall be attempted, but engage to prosecute such person or persons to death. It is not correct to state that in the statute for the surety of the queen's person, "the terms of this Association were solemnly approved by parliament."* It provided that the articles of the Association "shall and ought to be in all things expounded and adjudged according to the true intent and meaning of this Act;" and the Act expressly limited its meaning by the condition "that if any invasion or rebellion should be made by or for any person pretending title to the crown after her majesty's decease, or if any thing be confessed or imagined tending to the hurt of her person," it should be "*with the privy of any such person.*" In that case it was provided that a commission, composed of peers, privy councillors, and judges, should examine and give judgment on such offences; and that, after a proclamation of such judgment under the great seal, all persons against whom such sentence shall be given and proclaimed should be disabled for ever to have any claim to the crown; and all her majesty's subjects, by virtue of this statute, and by the queen's direction, might pursue the said persons to death. In case of the violent death of the queen, the privy council, with others, might proclaim the guilty parties, and use force in pursuing them to death. Mr. Hallam has pointed out that "this statute differs from the associators' engagement, in omitting the outrageous threat of pursuing to death any person, whether privy or not to the design, on whose behalf an attempt against the queen's life should be made."† Such was the law when the Babington conspiracy was discovered; and Mary was put upon her trial under this law, and not under the old Statute of Treasons, to determine whether that conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth was "with the privy of any person that shall or may pretend title to the crown of this realm."‡

On the 5th of October, 1586, a commission was issued to a large number of the most eminent persons of the kingdom, including twenty-nine peers, nine privy councillors, the chancellor, and five judges. In this commission it was recited, that since the first day of June, in the 27th year of the queen, "divers matters have been compassed and imagined tending to the hurt of our royal person, as well by Mary, daughter and heir of James the fifth, king of Scots, and commonly called queen of Scots and dowager of France, pretending title

* Tytler, vol. viii.

† "Constitutional History."

‡ 27 Eliz., c. 1 clause 1.

to this realm of England; as by divers other persons, *cum scientia*, in English with the privity of the same Mary, as we are given to understand." To the commissioners was assigned full power to examine all such matters, and to give sentence and judgment, under the act for the surety of the royal person. Thirty-six commissioners repaired to the castle of Fotheringay; and letters from Elizabeth were delivered to Mary, apprising her of the proceedings that were to be taken against her. At some preliminary interviews with a deputation from the commissioners, Mary maintained that she was an absolute queen; that she was no subject; and rather would die a thousand deaths than acknowledge herself a subject. She especially objected to the recent law,—upon which the authority of the commissioners wholly depended,—as unjust, as devised of purpose against her. But Hatton, the vice-chamberlain of Elizabeth, urged her to lay aside the bootless privilege of regal dignity, and by appearing before the commissioners have the means of showing her innocence. She ultimately yielded. The court was opened on Friday, the 14th of October, in the great hall at Fotheringay castle. Amongst the Cottonian MSS. there is a rough plan, in the hand-writing of lord Burleigh, for the arrangement of the hall. The "Great Chamber" was to be divided by "a rail as is in the Parliament Chamber." Within the bar was to be a cloth of state, with a chair for the queen of England; and opposite, nearer the rail, a chair for the queen of Scots. On the right of the queen of England's chair, a form for four justices, and a form for fourteen earls. On the left a form for the queen's counsel; a form for seven counsellors; and a form for thirteen barons. The space below the bar was "for all persons not being in commission, nor of the queen's learned counsel."*

It is scarcely possible, within reasonable limits, to furnish an adequate relation of this so-called trial. Like all other trials for high-treason at that period, the witnesses were not examined in open court; the accused was not allowed counsel. There sat, facing the empty chair of royal state, this acute and courageous woman, with those before her whom she regarded as her enemies, ready to overwhelm her by their accusations or their arguments. She repeated her declaration, that whatever answers she gave were made under protest against the authority of the commission to try a princess who was no subject of the queen of England. Gawdy, the queen's sergeant, went through the history of the Babington conspiracy, and brought forward arguments that she knew of it, approved it, and showed the means of its execution. She maintained that she knew not Babington; had never received any letters from him, nor written any to him; that she never plotted the destruction of the queen; and that to prove the same her subscription under her own hand ought to be produced. Copies of Babington's letters to her were read. "Let it be proved," she answered, "that I received them." The confessions of Babington and others were then recited, to prove that she had written letters which showed knowledge of the conspiracy. She said this was second-hand evidence. A copy of a letter was read, as of one written by her to Babington. She demanded that the original, said to be in cypher, should be produced. She hinted that Walsingham, who had placed spies about her, might have caused her cypher to be counterfeited. Walsingham protested that as a private

* See plan in Ellis, First Series, vol. ii.

person he had done nothing unbeseeming an honest man, nor as he bore the place of a public person had he done anything unworthy his place. Burleigh took part in the charges against the undaunted queen; who thus fought a battle single-handed against the most adroit statesmen of that age. It was not a trial, but a most unequal debate; and it is painful to see how Burleigh, in many points so worthy of respect, could describe the keen encounter between himself and an inexperienced woman. "This queen of the castle was content to appear before us again in public, to be heard, but, in truth, not to be heard for her defence, for she could say nothing but negatively, that the points of the letters that concerned the practice against the queen-majesty's person were never by her written, nor of her knowledge. The rest, for invasion, for escaping by force, she said, she would neither deny nor affirm. But her intention was, by long artificial speeches, to move pity, to lay all blame upon the queen's majesty, or rather upon the Council, that all the troubles past did ensue, avowing her reasonable offers and our refusals; and in this her speeches I did so encounter her with reasons out of my knowledge and experience, as she had not that advantage she looked for; as I am assured the auditory did find her case not pitiable, her allegations untrue; by which means great debate fell yesternight very long, and this day renewed with great stomaching." *

This letter of Burleigh refers to the proceedings of the second day. Mary then acknowledged that notes had been written to Babington by her secretaries; but said that they wholly referred to plans for her escape. She did not deny that she sought this deliverance, even through an invasion of the realm. Letters were produced, of which the genuineness is now scarcely disputed,† in which she minutely expounded plans for the king of Spain "to set on the queen of England;" which invasion she would aid by inducing the Catholic lords of Scotland to join the enterprise; and, seizing the young king James, deliver him into the hands of the king of Spain, or of the pope, to make him to be instructed and reduced to the Catholic religion. Another letter was read, in which Mary expressed her intention of bequeathing to the Spanish king her right of succession to the English throne. The plots for invasion and the overthrow of Elizabeth's government were almost necessarily connected with the assassination of the queen. Whether Mary was cognisant of one part of these plots, and wholly ignorant of the other, may be reasonably questioned.

At the close of the proceedings at Fotheringay, on the second day, the court was adjourned to the 25th, at Westminster. Naou and Curle, Mary's two secretaries, were then examined, in the absence of their mistress. Camden says that they voluntarily confirmed all and every the letters and copies of letters, before produced, to be most true. But this historian adds, "I have seen Naou's apology to king James, written in the year 1605, wherein, laboriously protesting, he excuseth himself, that he was neither author, nor persuader, nor the first revealer of the plot that was undertaken, nor failed of his duty through negligence or want of foresight; yea, that this day [the 25th of October] he stoutly impugned the chief points of accusation against his

* Letter to Davison, October 15, Ellis, First Series, vol. iii. p. 12.

† "These, if they were genuine, and of that there can be little doubt, showed that she had not only approved of the invasion devised at Paris, but had offered to aid its execution."—Lingard.

lady and mistress; which, notwithstanding, appeareth not by records." The commission unanimously delivered as their sentence "that the Babington conspiracy was with the privity of Mary, pretending title to the crown of England; and that she hath compassed and imagined within this realm, divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our sovereign lady the queen." The commissioners added that this sentence did not derogate from James, king of Scots, in title or honour, but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced.

Between the trial of Mary and the execution of the sentence there was an interval of four months. They were four months of intense anxiety, not only to the unhappy queen of Scots, but to Elizabeth, to her ministers, to the parliament, to the people. There are many doubtful points in the recorded transactions of this period, and historians have too often cut the knot instead of attempting to unloose it. Starting upon the hypothesis that, if Mary were not wholly innocent, the judgment against her was illegal, she is usually represented as the victim of remorseless statesmen, of a fanatical parliament, of a ferocious people, and of a cruel and dissembling rival queen. In the natural sympathy of mankind for a woman who had so long been acquainted with misery, the fact seems to have been overlooked that she was thrast from her legitimate throne by her own subjects, under charges of the most atrocious nature, and with the conviction that she would never cease to plot with foreign powers for the overthrow of the reformed religion. It is equally clear that her detention in this country was upon the ground that she was a public enemy; that she had never given up her claim to the actual possession of the crown; that her efforts to induce the Catholic powers to support her claims were unceasing; and that for years she was the centre around which all the intrigues for destroying the heretical governments of England and Scotland revolved. During her life, however strictly Mary was watched, the government of the Protestant Elizabeth was in perpetual danger. It was no popular delusion which ascribed to the bigoted popes who held the queen of England accursed, the doctrine that—

"blessed shall he be that doth revolt
From his allegiance to a heretic;"

that the hand which took away Elizabeth's "hateful life" should be deemed "meritorious." When Mary was pronounced guilty of privity to the Babington conspiracy, the most extensive preparations for the overthrow of Elizabeth were rapidly maturing. Invasion from without, treason from within, were to work together to place upon the throne one who would call in foreign aid to destroy the religion which had been generally adopted by a whole generation of English, and which no differences of opinion were otherwise likely essentially to disturb. Assuming Mary to have been privy to the various plots that had ripened during the last two years of her detention,—and one of the soberest of historians says, "in Murden's State Papers we have abundant evidence of Mary's acquaintance with the plots going forward in 1585 and 1586 against Elizabeth's government, if not with those for her assassination" *—the question arises whether the deposed queen of Scots was

* Hallam, Note to chap. iii.

amenable to any English tribunal? Camden says, that amongst contemporaries, "divers speeches were raised about the matter according to the divers dispositions of men." Some held that "she was a free and absolute princess, under the superior command of God alone,—that she could not commit treason because she was no subject." Others maintained that she was "only a titular queen, because she had resigned her kingdom, and when she first came into England had subjected herself under the protection of the queen of England." These abstract differences were no doubt settled, for the most part, by the doctrine, with which Camden concludes his statement of the opinions of those who defended the sentence against Mary,—“that the safety of the people is the highest law.” Whatever violent historical partisans may maintain, we concur in the opinion of Mr. Hallam, that those who held Mary to be only a titular queen were in the right. “Though we must admit that Mary’s resignation of her crown was compulsory, and retracted on the first occasion; yet, after a twenty years’ loss of possession, when not one of her former subjects avowed allegiance to her, when the king of Scotland had been so long acknowledged by England, and by all Europe, is it possible to consider her as more than a titular queen, divested of every substantial right to which a sovereign tribunal could have regard?”* If we accept of the doctrine that “the safety of the people is the highest law,” we must further agree that the sentence against Mary, “if not capable of complete vindication, has at least encountered a disproportioned censure.”† But there must be censure, more or less. The contending feelings excited by the fate of Mary have been as correctly analysed by the great contemporary poet as by any historian. There can be no doubt that Spenser’s “False Duessa” was the type of Mary, the “untitled queen.” Following out the poet’s brief enumeration of the crimes of Duessa, Authority opposed her; the Law of Nations rose against her; Religion imputed God’s behest to condemn her; the People’s cry and Commons’ suit importuned for care of the Public Cause: Justice charged her with breach of law:—

“But then, for her, on the contrary part,
 Rose many advocates for her to plead;
 First there came Pity with full tender heart,
 And with her joined Regard of Womanhead;
 And then came Danger, threatening hidden dread
 And high alliance unto foreign power;
 Then came Nobility of Birth, that bred
 Great ruth through her misfortune’s tragic stour,
 And lastly Grief did plead, and many tears forth pour.”‡

The Pity, the Regard of Womanhead, the ruth for fallen Nobility of Birth, the Grief that speaks in tears, will always prevail over political considerations when we peruse the sad story of Mary Stuart. But it is not to read the past aright if we wholly shut our eyes to Justice and the Public Cause. It would be worse than mere tenderness to impute to Elizabeth and her advisers, to the parliament and to the people, a blind hostility to a suffering and harmless captive. Mary was for years the terror of England. Her destruction was “the Great Cause” to which the highest and the humblest in the land looked as a relief. If her death were a crime it was a national crime. To regard it at the present day as an outrage upon Scotland, and to talk of it, as some do,

* “Constitutional History,” chap. iii. † *Ibid.* ‡ “Faery Queen,” book v. canto ix.

in this spirit, appears to us one of those hallucinations of a distempered patriotism, with which men vainly endeavour to call up the shadows of long-buried rivalries and forgotten discontents.

The parliament was opened by Commission, an unusual course, on the 29th of October. The chief business was to bring before the houses the proceedings against the queen of Scots; and the principal discussions were upon what was commonly termed "the Great Cause." The members of the Council appear to have been firmly persuaded of the duty of urging Elizabeth to the most extreme course. Davison, one of her secretaries, writes to Leicester on the 4th of November, "Your lordship's presence here were more than needful for the great cause now in hand, which is feared will receive a colder proceeding than may stand with the surety of her majesty, and necessity of our shaken estates." * On the 10th of November, a committee of both houses declared the sentence against Mary to be just; and the houses agreed in a petition to Elizabeth, that proclamation of the judgment might be made, and that further proceedings might be taken against the Scottish queen; "because, upon advised and great consultation, we cannot find that there is any possible means to provide for your majesty's safety, but by the just and speedy execution of the said queen." † The answer of Elizabeth is generally considered hypocritical: "If my life alone depended hereupon, and not the safety and welfare of all my people, I would, I protest unfeignedly, willingly and readily pardon her. Nay, if England might by my death obtain a more flourishing condition and a better prince, I would most gladly lay down my life. For, for your sakes it is, and for my people's, that I desire to live." This is egotism; but egotism which has not only the "princely dignity," but the "motherly tenderness," with which Elizabeth always spoke of her people. On this occasion, she requested time to consider. The houses again resolved that no safety can in any wise be had as long as the queen of Scots doth live. Again Elizabeth hesitated: "If I should say unto you," she replied, "that I mean not to grant your petition, by my faith I should say unto you more than perhaps I mean. And if I should say unto you I mean to grant your petition, I should then tell you more than is fit for you to know. And thus I must deliver you an answer answerless." But the government acceded to one part of the petition of parliament to the queen. At the beginning of December the judgment of the Commissioners against Mary was solemnly proclaimed in London and other places. Our historians record the joy of the citizens of the capital; the ringing of bells and the bonfires. They pass over the statutory effect of this proclamation: "After such sentence or judgment given, and declaration thereof made and published, by her majesty's proclamation, under the great seal of England, all persons against whom such sentence or judgment shall be so given and published, shall be excluded and disabled for ever to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the crown of this realm." ‡ The dread of the great body of Protestants had been that, in the event of Elizabeth's death, a Romanist successor would come, in the person of Mary, the next heir. The proclamation under the statute put an end to that chance; and hence the joy. For two months

* "Leycester Correspondence," p. 453.

† "Parliamentary History."

‡ 27 Eliz.

a more fatal termination of the "great cause" had been suspended. When Elizabeth was threatened by the French ambassador, she wrote a letter of defiance to his master, Henry III. When James sent commissioners to England upon a mission of intercession, she delayed and protested her desire to save Mary, although in a letter to James she called her "the serpent that poisons me." As these efforts became more strenuous Elizabeth became more determined; and wrote to James, "though like a most natural good son you charged them [the ambassadors] to seek all means they could devise with wit or judgment to save her life, yet I cannot, nor do not, allege any fault to you of their persuasions; for I take it that you will remember that advice or desires ought ever agree with the surety of the party sent to and honor of the sender." * Camden has described the state of Elizabeth's mind at this period. "She gave herself over to solitariness, sat many times melancholy and mute; and often sighing muttered to herself, *aut fer, aut feri*,—that is, either bear strokes or strike; and, out of I know not what emblem, *ne feriare, feri*,—that is, strike, lest thou be stricken." At last the struggle, or the simulated struggle, seemed over. On the 1st of February, the queen sent for Davison, one of the secretaries, at ten in the morning. After various talk, she asked if he had brought the warrant for the execution of the Scottish queen. He had been desired by the lord admiral Howard to bring it, and he delivered it to Elizabeth. That warrant had been in his hands five or six weeks; but now, as he was told, the queen had resolved to sign it, in consequence of rumours of invasions and rebellions spread abroad. The queen signed the warrant, and ordered Davison to carry it to the great seal, and then dispatch it with all expedition. She told him to show the warrant to Mr. secretary Walsingham, who was sick; saying, merrily, that she thought the sight thereof would kill him outright. This might be cruel indifference, or forced levity to hide a conflict within. He showed the warrant to Burleigh and Leicester, and then went to the chancellor, and afterwards to Walsingham. The next morning the queen sent him a message, that if he had not been already to the chancellor he should forbear till he knew her further pleasure. He went therefore to the queen, and told her that the warrant was sealed; and she said, "what needeth that haste?" She objected that this course threw the whole burthen upon herself. Davison, fearing to take the responsibility of dispatching the warrant, went to Burleigh, who assembled a Council, and gave his advice that they should join in sending the warrant to the commissioners "without troubling her majesty any further in that behalf, she having done all that in law or reason could be required of her." Burleigh undertook to prepare letters to accompany the warrant; and the next day, the 3rd, the warrant and despatches were delivered by Burleigh to Mr. Beale, who was thought the fittest messenger. Two or three days after, the queen spoke to Davison about another course "that had been propounded to her underhand by one of great place," against which Davison gave reasons, "where-with she seemed to rest satisfied without any show of following the new course, or altering her former resolution in any point." At this interview Elizabeth complained that the warrant was not already executed. Such is the straightforward account contained in a Manuscript which is amongst the papers in

* "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. 441.

the Harleian Collection. This is, in substance, the same account as that given by Camden. But there are other statements by this unfortunate secretary, who was prosecuted in the Star Chamber for not obeying Elizabeth's commands in the matter of the warrant, which are familiar to the most cursory reader of history, and which are usually accepted as evidence of a desire of the queen that Mary should be privately murdered. Camden refers to these statements of how Davison "excused himself in private," which he gives "compendiously," with this addition to what we have related as found in the other narrative: "Moreover she blamed Paulet and Drury that they had not eased her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would feel their minds in this matter." On a subsequent day, "she asked me whether I had received any answer from Paulet, whose letter, when I had showed her, wherein he flatly refused to undertake that which stood not with honour and justice, she waxing angry, accused him and others, which had bound themselves by the Association, of perjury and breach of their vow." We forbear to enter here upon this remarkable story, of which, holding the evidence to be very doubtful as regards assassination, we have thrown the minuter details into the form of a note, so as not to interrupt the main narrative.*

The last hours of Mary Stuart have been described with an exactness which is far more interesting than the highest efforts of imaginative art. Indeed, the art of Schiller has borrowed its most effective touches from an official narrative whose authenticity is established by an indorsement in lord Burleigh's hand.† The scenes immediately preceding the fatal morning of the 8th of February have been derived from various sources, and some of the incidents are conflicting. The relations, however, agree in the most essential particulars. The earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, to whom the Lords of the Council had specially sent Mr. Beale, arrived at Fotheringay on the 7th of February, after dinner. They communicated to Mary the purpose for which they had arrived; and Beale read the queen's commission for her execution. She bowed her head, made the sign of the cross, and thanked her God that the summons so long expected had come at last. She asked at what time she should die, and was informed at eight the following morning. Having desired the presence of her priest and almoner, she was refused; and was told that in the place of her confessor she might have the spiritual assistance of the dean of Peterborough. She necessarily declined this. This ferocious bigotry would be incomprehensible, if we did not bear in mind that the severe Protestant and the rigid Catholic were equally convinced that it was their duty to urge their own doctrines, even whilst the axe or the fagot were ready for those who were about to perish for their opinions. The "bachelor of Divinity, named Elye, of Brazennose College," who pressed Cranmer to recant when he was chained to the stake; and the earl of Kent, who attempted to convert Mary, on the evening before her death, were misjudging zealots, but they meant not cruelty. Camden has it, that the earl of Kent said to Mary, "Your life will be the death of our religion, as, contrariwise, your death will be the life thereof." The doomed one saw her advantage in this speech; and afterwards said to her physician, "They say that I must die

* See page 205.

† "8 Feb. 1586. The manner of the Q. of Scott's death at Fodryngay, wr. by R. Wy." This is amongst the Lansdowne MS. Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 102.

because I have plotted against the queen's life; yet the earl of Kent signifieth unto me that there is no other cause of my death but that they doubt their religion because of me." Mary then looked over her will; distributed money to her attendants; wrote letters; prayed long and fervently; and went quietly to sleep.

At the upper end of the great hall of Fotheringay had been erected a scaffold, two feet in height and twelve feet in breadth, railed round, and covered with black cloth. On that scaffold were a low stool, a long cushion, and a block; all covered also with black. There were many persons assembled in that hall. The queen had dressed herself "gorgeously and curiously," says Camden, "as she was wont to do on festival days." She came forth from her chamber, at the bidding of Thomas Andrews, sheriff of Northamptonshire; and was met in the entry next the hall, by Shrewsbury and Kent, "with divers knights and gentlemen." Melvin, one of her old servants, fell on his knees before her; and said that it would be the most sorrowful message he ever carried when he should report in Scotland that his queen and mistress was dead. The official narrative thus continues: "Then the queen of Scots, shedding tears, answered him, 'You ought to rejoice rather than weep for that the end of Mary Stuart's troubles is now come. Thou knowest, Melvin, that all this world is but vanity, and full of troubles and sorrows; carry this message from me, and tell my friends that I die a true woman to my religion, and like a true Scottish woman and a true French woman. But God forgive them that have long desired my end; and he that is the true Judge of all secret thoughts knoweth my mind, how that ever it hath been my desire to have Scotland and England united together. Commend me to my son, and tell him that I have not done any thing that may prejudice his kingdom of Scotland; and so, good Melvin, farewell;' and kissing him, she bade him pray for her."

We have again a scene characteristic of an age in which to be tender was too often accounted to be weak, and to be tolerant was held to be impious. Mary requested that her servants might be present at her death. The earl of Kent refused, lest they should trouble her grace, and disquiet the company by their speeches. She replied that she would give her word that they should do nothing of the kind. After some consultation two of her female servants and Melvin, with two medical attendants and an old man, were allowed to enter the hall. Melvin carrying her train, she stepped up the scaffold with a cheerful countenance, and sat down on the stool; and there stood by her side the two earls, and the sheriff, and two executioners. The commission was read; Mary "listening unto it with as small regard as if it had not concerned her at all." The dean of Peterborough, Dr. Fletcher, standing outside the rail, directly before her, began an exhortation; but she stopped him, saying, "Mr. Dean, I am settled in the ancient Catholic Roman religion, and mind to spend my blood in defence of it." The pertinacious dignitary replied, with more zeal than charity, "Madam, change your opinion, and repent of your former wickedness, and settle your faith only in Jesus Christ, by him to be saved." Mary told him to trouble himself no further; and Shrewsbury and Kent said they would pray for her. She thanked them, "but to join with you in prayer I will not, for that you and I are not of one religion." The dean then prayed aloud from the English liturgy; and Mary

with steadfast voice, having in her hand a crucifix, began to pray in Latin; and she finally prayed in English for Christ's afflicted church, for her son, and for the queen of England. The callous earl of Kent was not moved even by this solemn earnestness, but told her to "leave those trumperies." Such is fanaticism, from whatever perverted view of the religion of love it may spring.

The last dread trial was sustained with equal fortitude and steadfastness by Mary, in whom, whatever were her faults, were many of the elements of true heroism. As her two women wept, she besought them to be calm: "I have promised for you." A Corpus-Christi cloth being pinned over her face, she knelt down upon the cushion "most resolutely," reciting aloud the Latin psalm, *In te confido*, "In thee, O Lord, do I trust." Groping for the block, she laid down her head, and cried, *In manus tuas, Domine*, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Her head was severed in two strokes. One poor servant there was who went upon that scaffold without permission. Her little dog was taken from beneath her robes; and "afterwards would not depart from the dead corpse."

Fifteen months after this tragedy, Elizabeth wrote to James, "God, the searcher of all hearts, ever so have misericorde of my soul as my innocency in that matter deserveth, and no otherwise; which invocation were too dangerous for a guilty conscience." Opposed as the narratives of Davison are to each other, in many essential particulars, we cannot wholly reject them. We must believe, with one of these, that Elizabeth only desired the non-performance of the warrant for execution, that her prompting of some form that would shift the burthen from herself might be adopted—for which purpose she caused letters to be written to Paulet and Drury: or, with the other, that she was always resolved upon the execution; and accept the statement of both "apologies" of Davison, that the very day before that of the Scottish queen's death, "she fell of herself into some earnest expostulation with me about the execution of her said warrant, complaining greatly of myself and the rest of her Council, as men careless of her safety and our own duties, commanding me to write a sharp letter to sir Amias Paulet to that effect." And yet the Council, when the news of the execution arrived, says Davison, "did not think fit to break suddenly to her majesty, who nevertheless, by other means, understood thereof that night." The next morning he met the other members of the Council, who told him that "her majesty seemed greatly offended against them all about this action, disavowing that she had either commanded or intended any such proceeding therein." Davison was sent to the Tower, and tried in the Star Chamber. Burleigh was forbidden to appear in court. The assertions of Elizabeth have been attributed to "the earnestness of a dreadful self-deception."* Her conduct during the four months from the trial to the last act of this terrible drama, has been designated as "hollow affectation." But nevertheless we believe that she was not of those whose "feet are swift to shed blood;" that there was a real contest in her mind between her private and her public feelings; and that in her violent declarations of innocency she deceived herself into throwing the whole blame upon parliament and her ministers. Six days after

* Bruce, in Introduction to "Letters of Elizabeth," &c.

† Hallam.

the execution she wrote to James to express "the extreme dolor that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which, far contrary to my meaning, hath befallen." She further says, "As I know this was deserved, yet if I had meant it I would never lay it on other shoulders." She persisted in this assertion, without any variation. There can be little doubt that she shielded herself by some technical objection to the mode in which her Council had proceeded, upon the representations of Davison. At Davison's trial in the Star Chamber, on the 28th March, sir Roger Manwood, lord chief baron, said, "This thing, then, being so high a point of justice, was not in any respect to be done otherwise than her majesty's express commandment would bear. . . . The instrument was not so peremptory and irrevocable as he [Davison] took it; nor a sufficient warrant for any kind of proceeding against the Scottish queen, neither for his associates, nor for any other: for the last statute, besides the condition and proclamation, doth require the queen's direction; and that must be either general, that all men may do it, which is not here granted, or particular, who or by what means; neither is there here any such, especially her majesty having no knowledge of the thing done."* The statute of the 27th Elizabeth certainly says, that after sentence and judgment, and proclamation of the same, "all her highness's subjects shall and may lawfully, by virtue of this Act, and *her majesty's direction in that behalf*, by all forcible and possible means pursue to death every such wicked person." Elizabeth had signed a general instrument of this nature; which the chief baron says was "not a sufficient warrant for any kind of proceeding against the Scottish queen." The Council, upon the representations of Davison, chose, honestly interpreting the queen's wishes, to supply what was deficient in that instrument. Burleigh told the Council, having read the instrument to them, that they were met to advise of "such means as might be most honourable and expedient for the dispatch thereof; seeing her majesty had for her part performed as much as in any honour, law, or reason, was to be required at her hands." They took upon themselves the responsibility, fully understanding "her doubted inclination to drive this burthen, if it might be, from herself;" and they determined to apply no more to the queen, lest she, "upon such a needless motion, should have fallen into any new conceit of interrupting and staying the course of justice."† There was some slight foundation for a "dreadful self-deception."

* Report of the Trial, by an eye-witness. Nicolas, p. 343.

† Davison's 'Discourse.' Nicolas, p. 241.

NOTE ON THE STATEMENTS THAT ELIZABETH DESIRED THAT THE
QUEEN OF SCOTS MIGHT BE PRIVATELY ASSASSINATED.

THE popular impression of the guilt of Elizabeth with regard to the death of Mary Stuart has been considerably aggravated in modern times. The worst belief formerly was, that the queen of England was most anxious for the execution of the queen of Scots, but long dissembled; was exhorted by her council and by parliament to issue the fatal warrant; resisted only that she might cast the odium of the act upon others; and meanly persecuted Davison the secretary for really obeying her commands. Hume and Robertson briefly notice a far more odious charge against Elizabeth. Robertson says, "She often hinted to Paulet and Drury, as well as to some other courtiers, that now was the time to discover the sincerity of their concern for her safety, and that she expected their zeal would extricate her out of her present perplexity. But they were wise enough to seem not to understand her meaning." It is now the almost uniform practice of historical writers perfectly to understand that the meaning was, private assassination. This accusation against Elizabeth is now generally related in the most circumstantial manner, and as generally accepted as resting upon unquestionable testimony. It appears to us, at the risk of being tedious, a duty to examine the evidence upon which this accusation is founded.

There are four narratives, or "apologies," attributed to Davison. The one with which the general reader is best acquainted is given in Robertson's "History of Scotland," Appendix xix. vol. ii. It contains no word respecting any suggestion for the removal of Mary, except by public execution. The original is amongst the Cottonian MSS.* The second "apology," with which Hume, Robertson, and other historians of the last century were acquainted, is printed in Kippis' "Biographia Britannica," Art. "Davyson," as "transcribed by Mr. John Urry, of Christchurch, from the papers of Sir Amias Paulet."† But it was first printed in the third volume of Dr. George Mackenzie's "Lives and Characters of Scottish Worthies," in 1722; and he derived his knowledge of it from Mr. John Urry. In this "apology," the command of Elizabeth to Davison, that he and Walsingham should write to Paulet and Drury "to sound their dispositions, aiming still at this, that it might be so done as the blame might be removed from herself," is detailed at some length. These are the materials which, with two letters which we shall have especially to notice, were known before the close of the last century. These letters, according to the ordinary belief, have converted the doubtful into the positive. Robertson says, "Even after the warrant was signed, she commanded a letter to be written to Paulet, *in less ambiguous terms*, complaining of his remissness in sparing so long the life of her capital enemy, and begging him to remember at last what was incumbent on him as an affectionate subject, and to deliver his sovereign from continual fear and danger, *by shortening*

* Printed by Nicolas, "Life of Davison," Appendix D. † Printed by Nicolas, Appendix C.

the days of his prisoner." Paulet, adds this historian, "rejected the proposal with disdain." Conversations might have been misunderstood; rash expressions exaggerated. But letters of this import could not be capable of any other interpretation *than that Elizabeth desired Mary to be removed by secret murder.*

In 1823, Sir N. H. Nicolas published his "Life of William Davison," in which he gave two other apologies, which he describes as "the fullest and most satisfactory" of these papers, and which he believes have "never before been cited or published." The first of these is taken from the Cottonian MS., Titus, C. vii. f. 48, and the Cottonian MS. Caligula, C. ix. f. 149, and these "appear to be in Davison's hand."* The second is the Harleian MS., 290, f. 213, and, says Nicolas, "the manuscript is very similar to Davison's."† The one from the Harleian MS. is headed "A true relation of what passed between her majesty and me," &c. The other from the Cottonian MS. is headed "A Discourse sent by and from Mr. Secretary Davison, being then prisoner in the Tower of London, unto Secretary Walsingham," &c. There is another copy of the "Discourse" in the Harleian Collection, of which the Catalogue says, "written by the hand of Mr. Rafe Starkey." Nicolas points out that it varies very slightly from that in the Cottonian Collection. Three examinations of Davison, whilst he was a prisoner in the Tower, and reports of his trial in the Star-chamber, are the principal documents which further bear on the question.

The offence for which Davison was prosecuted in the Star-chamber, was,—as related in a letter written about three months after Mary's death—"for not proceeding with the queen of Scots according to his mistress' commandment at the delivery of the warrant, which was, not to put it in execution before the realm shall be actually invaded by some foreign power."‡ The examinations of Davison in the Star-chamber are recorded in several papers, in which there are allusions to some other mode of proceeding than that contemplated in the warrant. Thus, amongst questions put to Davison on the 12th of March, he is asked, "whether six or seven days after it [the warrant] was passed the great seal, and in your custody, her majesty told you not in the gallery that she had a better way to proceed therein than that which was before advised?" Would the courtly examiners have ventured to ask such a question if they had expected that Davison would have blurted out that the other way was assassination? The answer of Davison was this: "He remembereth that upon some letters received from Mr. Paulet, her majesty falling into some complaint of him upon such cause as she best knoweth, she uttered such a speech *that she would have matters otherwise done.*"§ Did this speech, that she would have matters otherwise done, contemplate assassination?

The two Reports purporting to be from Davison, which are preserved in the Harleian and Cottonian MSS., and have been reprinted by Sir N. H. Nicolas, have most important variations. The narrative of Sir N. H. Nicolas is mainly founded upon the Cottonian MS., which varies very slightly from that first published by Mackenzie. The Harleian Catalogue says of the two narratives, though they "differ in many circumstances, each containing several which the other wants, they are not repugnant one to the other, and therefore both may be true." They are so repugnant, however, that the most material averment of the "discourse" is not found in the "relation." The "discourse" purports to be sent by Davison to Walsingham when he was "a prisoner in the Tower," and bears the date as having been so sent, February 20, 1586 [1587]. It is an extraordinary circumstance that of this confidential communication there should be many copies; for it contains allegations against the queen which the writer, "a prisoner in the Tower," would scarcely entrust to any person but his co-

* Printed by Nicolas, Appendix A.

† Printed by Nicolas, Appendix B.

‡ Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 126.

§ Sir N. H. Nicolas, "Life of Davison," p. 96.

secretary, Walsingham, who, according to this statement, was art and part with him in an unscrupulous act. Of the "relation" only one copy is known. This fact is certainly insufficient to impugn the authenticity of the paper bearing the date of February 20. But as there were evident pains taken to publish it, by a multiplication of copies, it is not impossible that it might be so circulated after the death of Elizabeth, when any insinuations against the great queen would not have been displeasing to her successor.

We proceed to point out the chief discrepancies between the two papers; and we give, in the first place, an example of one material deviation, placing the passages in parallel columns; each describing what took place immediately after the warrant had been signed on the 1st of February:

From the Cotton MS.

"And thereupon (after some intermingled speech to and fro), told me she would have it done as secretly as might be, appointing the hall where she was for the place of execution; and misliking the court, or green of the castle for divers respects she alleged, with other speech to like effect. Howbeit, as I was ready to depart, she fell into some complaint of Sir Amias Paulet and others, that might have eased her of this burthen, wishing that Mr. Secretary [Walsingham] and I would yet write unto both him and Sir Drue Drury, to sound their disposition in that behalf. . . . The same afternoon I waited on my lord chancellor for the sealing of the said warrant. . . . I returned back unto Mr. Secretary Walsingham, whom I had visited by the way, and acquainted him with her pleasure touching letters that were to be written to the said sir Amias Paulet and sir Drue Drury, which at my return I found ready to be sent away."

From the Harleian MS.

"She finally willed me to take up the said warrant, and to carry it immediately to the great seal, commanding me expressly to dispatch and send it down unto the commissioners with all the expedition I might, appointing the hall of Fotheringay for the place of execution, misliking the court-yard for divers respects she alleged; and, in conclusion, absolutely forbade me to trouble her any further, or let her hear any more thereof till it was done, seeing that for her part she had now performed all that either in law or reason could be required of her; and so, calling for the rest of the things I had to be signed, dispatched them all. This done, she entered into some speech with me of Mr. Secretary Walsingham, delivering me a message to be imparted unto him, and willing me withal to shew him her warrant in my way to the seal (he being then sick at his house in London), yielding merrily this reason, that she thought the sight thereof would kill him outright. . . . After dinner I repaired to the lord chancellor, according to my directions, having first visited Mr. Secretary Walsingham on my way, and acquainted him with those things her majesty had given me in charge."

In the above "relation" from the Harleian MS. there is not a word about the joint letter that was to be written, as the "discourse" states, to sound the disposition of Paulet and Drury. The warrant was to be dispatched and sent down to the commissioners with all expedition; the queen commanded that she should hear no more about it till it was done. The "discourse" has a very different story. Paulet and Drury were to be written to with reference to some irregular proceeding, for taking the life of Mary without the necessary forms: "Albeit I had before excused myself from meddling therein, upon sundry her majesty's former motions, as a matter I utterly prejudged, assuring her that it should be so much labour lost, knowing the wisdom and integrity of the gentlemen, whom I thought would not do such an unlawful act for any respect in the world; yet, finding her desirous to have the matter attempted, I promised for her satisfaction to signify this her pleasure to Mr. Secretary." Thus becoming an accessory to "an unlawful act," he goes to Walsingham, "he being then sick at his house in London;" and the most wary man in the world instantly adopts some illegal suggestion, full of peril and difficulty, at the very moment when the great object of himself and the other members of the council was accomplished, and Elizabeth's warrant for Mary's execution was

signed at last. The letter was such a matter of course that the sick man sets about its instant preparation ; and when Davison returns, in an hour or so, he finds it "ready to be sent away." In the "true relation" of Davison there is not one word to indicate that any such letter was written, or ordered to be written. This relation, throughout, aims only at showing that the queen held firmly to her original command that the warrant should be quickly executed ; "albeit she thought it might have been better handled, because this course threw the whole burthen upon herself." This was said on the 2nd of February ; and Davison replies to the queen that he "saw not who else could bear it, seeing her laws made it murder in any man to take the life of the meanest subject in her kingdom but by her warrant." This is corroborated by the "discourse." She thought "that it might have been otherwise handled *for the form*, naming unto me some that were of that opinion, whose judgments she commended." Her ministers complained of Elizabeth that she hesitated to give that authority to the council that would have been their warrant to issue a writ for the execution of the queen of Scots. Davison distinctly separates the warrant which the queen signed from the writ of execution which was issued by the council. It is clear that the queen had a vague desire that the warrant should come from her council, as the writ of execution did come—a weak and crafty desire, but not a longing for assassination. Some such longing had indeed, according to the "true relation," been put into her head by one of her most dangerous advisers, some days after the sick Walsingham and the conscientious Davison had, according to the ordinary interpretation, proposed to Paulet and Drury that they should murder their prisoner. Thus Davison relates a subsequent interview with the queen : "Some two or three days after, having special occasion to attend her majesty, and finding her in her gallery at Greenwich all alone, she entered into some speech with me of a course that had been propounded unto her underhand by one of great place, concerning that queen ; asked me what I thought thereof ; which, being in truth very unsuitable to the rest of her public proceedings, I utterly disliked, delivering my reasons, wherewith she seemed to rest satisfied, without any show of following this new course, or altering her former resolution in any point." This, it seems, was "a new course,"—a course "very unsuitable to the rest of her public proceedings," which Elizabeth told Davison "had been propounded to her underhand by one of great place," but "without any show of altering her former resolution in any point"—the resolution that the warrant should take effect. And yet this "new course," according to the ordinary belief, was the "underhand" one which Walsingham and Davison had proposed to Paulet and Drury some days before, at the express desire of the queen herself.

The manifest discrepancies between the two papers attributed to Davison might perhaps have suggested some such doubts as we have stated, if not of their genuineness, at least of their real meaning, if there had not appeared other papers which profess to be the identical correspondence of Walsingham and Davison with Paulet and Drury. We give the letter of Elizabeth's secretaries as it was first discovered and presented to the world about a hundred and forty years after it professed to have been written. If this letter had never appeared, we might have most reasonably doubted whether the strongest statements of Davison had any reference to secret assassination.

"TO SIR AMIAS PAULET.

"After our hearty commendations, we find by speech lately uttered by her majesty, that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time of yourselves, without other provocation, found out some way to shorten the life of

that queen, considering the great peril she is hourly subject to so long as the said queen shall live. Wherein, besides a kind of lack of love towards her, she noteth greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion, and the public good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth; especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your conscience towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of Association, which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed, and especially the matter wherewith she standeth charged being so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly towards her that men professing that love toward her that you do, shoulde in any kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burthen upon her, knowing as you do her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said queen is. These respects, we find, do greatly trouble her majesty, who we assure you hath sundry times protested, that if the regard of this danger of her good subjects and faithful servants did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with these speeches lately passed from her majesty, referring the same to your good judgments. And so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

"Your most assured friends,

"FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

"WILLIAM DAVISON."

At London, Feb. 1, 1586 [1587].

Mr. Hallam has referred to doubts of the genuineness of this letter which were expressed in the original edition of the "*Biographia Britannica*," Note to Art. "*Walsingham*." Others, less candid, have avoided hinting that such a doubt had ever been expressed. The point is all-important. If this letter is a genuine one, there is an end of all doubt—Elizabeth desired that Mary should be secretly murdered. If it be a forgery, the charge falls to the ground; for there is nothing in the apologies of Davison that gives this meaning absolutely—nothing that is incapable of another interpretation. The writer of the note in the "*Biographia Britannica*" rests his scepticism upon his confident belief that Walsingham, the most wary of politicians,—who, according to Camden, had resisted every suggestion for dealing with Mary except by open trial,—would never have committed himself to an expression of the queen's regret that Paulet and Drury had not taken means to shorten her life. But there is another suspicious point of internal evidence, which that writer has not noticed. Davison signs a letter, in which he says that the oath of the Association (which was an engagement to pursue to death any person plotting against the life of queen Elizabeth) would be a ground for the satisfaction of their conscience in proceeding of themselves to the execution of that oath. The man who signs this exhortation had refused himself to join the Association, and sets forth, at a later period, that such refusal had been injurious to him. Is it possible that any conscientious man—as Davison is held to have been—would plead the obligation to shed blood imposed by an oath upon others, which oath he had refused to take, as being against his own conscience?

The answer of Paulet and Drury to the infamous proposal of Walsingham and Davison is as follows :—

"TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM, KNT.

"SIR,—Your letters of yesterday coming to my hands this present day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my answer with all possible speed, which shall deliver unto you great grief and

bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy to have lived to see this unhappy day, in the which I am required, by direction from my most gracious sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My good livings and life are at her majesty's disposition, and am ready to lose them this next morrow if it shall so please her; acknowledging that I hold them as of her mere and most gracious favour. I do not desire them, to enjoy them, but with her highness's good liking; but God forbid that I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my posterity, or shed blood without law and warrant; trusting that her majesty, of her accustomed clemency, will take this my dutiful answer in good part (and the rather, by your good mediation), as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any Christian subject living in duty, honour, love, and obedience towards his sovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almighty. From Fotheringay, the 2nd of February, 1586 [1587].

"Your most assured poor friends,

"A. PAULET."

"D. DRURY."

The following is a postscript :—

"Your letter coming in the plural number, seems to be meant as to sir Drue Drury as to myself: and yet because he is not named in them, neither the letter directed unto him, he forbearth to make any answer, but subscribeth in heart to my opinion." (And yet he does answer, and appends his signature.)

If any one can readily believe that this is the boastful style in which two of Elizabeth's servants, the breath of whose nostrils was court favour, would answer a half-command of the queen herself, transmitted by her two secretaries of state, we can only say that they have more confidence than ourselves, not only in the public virtue of such men, but in their unexampled boldness in hurling foul scorn at their mistress and her ministers. We have seen how suspicious are all the circumstances connected with the dispatch of the letter held to contain a plain command of the queen "to shorten the life" of the unhappy prisoner of Paulet and Drury. According to Davison's "discourse," as explained by the letter itself, Elizabeth gives her order without any hesitation. She does not dally, as John dallied with Hubert:

"I had a thing to say,—But let it go."

Let us see how she receives the refusal of Paulet to execute this supposed unholy command. Does her conscience sting her when she reads what Paulet replies—"God forbid that I should make so foul a shipwreck of *my* conscience, or leave so great a blot to my posterity, or shed blood without law or warrant"—"to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth"—to be an assassin? Does she use any solemn oath to purge herself from a suspicion that her meaning was murder? With the same matchless impudence that prompted her command, she reads the refusal to obey it. "She rose up, and after a turn or two went into the gallery, whither I followed her; and there renewing her former speech, blaming the *niceness of those precise fellows*, as she termed them, who in words would do great things for her surety, but in deed performed nothing, concluded that she would well enough have done without them. And here, entering into particularities, named unto me, as I remember, one Wingfield, who, she assured me, would, with some others, undertake it." ("Discourse.") If to "undertake it" meant to poison, or to stab, no murderess that ever lived was so brazen-faced in her "particularities" as this Elizabeth. Mr. Tytler paraphrases this passage, and says, "Who this new assassin was to whom the queen alluded does not appear." Let us try to make the matter clearer. The earl of Shrewsbury had a castle called Wingfield, or Winfield. There Mary was, in 1584, under the charge of sir Ralph Sadler. Insert two letters in

the Davison MS., and we read, "One [*at*] Wingfield." The one who would "undertake it" would not necessarily be an assassin; and from the answer of Davison to this allusion of the queen, it is quite clear that he did not view the refusal of Paulet and Drury to "undertake it" as a refusal to perpetrate a *secret* murder. He "discoursed unto her the great extremity she would have exposed those poor gentlemen to; for if, in a tender care of her surety, they should have done that she desired, she must either allow their act, or disallow it." Whatever it was to be, it was to be an *open* act. Elizabeth,—if we altogether reject the two suspicious letters from the evidence,—desired an informal public execution, but not a mysterious removal of the condemned prisoner. The trial of Mary took place while Leicester was in the Netherlands. On the 25th of October he wrote from Utrecht a letter to Walsingham, in which he says, "My heart cannot rest for fear, since I heard that your matters are deferred I do fear, if I had been there with you, I should rather have put myself into her majesty's place, than suffered this dreadful mischief to be prolonged, for her destruction."* Elizabeth wished some one to take upon himself the responsibility of "her majesty's place"—a wretched device, but not a scheme of assassination.

But any objections that might be raised to the internal evidence of the authenticity of these letters would be overthrown, if the originals were preserved, and the signatures could be compared with the well-known autographs of Walsingham and Davison. They are professedly copies; and yet Mr. Tytler calls them "original letters;" and another historian speaks of them as "unquestionable documents." In quoting them, or commenting upon them, we are sometimes referred to the Harleian MS. There, indeed, may we find copies of the two letters, which copies are thus described in the Catalogue of the MSS. in the British Museum:—"One is dated the 1st, the other the 6th of Feb., 1586. Both copies partly in lord Oxford's own hand, and inclosed in a letter from the duke of Chandos to his lordship, who had lent them to him, expressing his return of them and opinion that they are a very valuable curiosity, and deserve well to be preserved. Dated Cannons, Aug. 23, 1725." The famous Robert Harley died in May, 1724, and was succeeded by his son Edward, to whom the duke of Chandos must have returned the "very valuable curiosity." At that time, however, they had been published by Dr. Mackenzie, as illustrative of Davison's apology, in his "*Worthies*," 1722; and by Thomas Hearne, in his edition of Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, which bears the date of 1724. Hearne says, they were *copied by a friend of his*, in September, 1717, from a manuscript folio book, containing letters to and from sir Amias Paulet, when the queen of Scots' governor at Fotheringay. Where is that "manuscript folio book," so curious on many other accounts? Hearne gives us, after the letter of Walsingham and Davison, the following as entries in what Dr. Lingard calls "the letter-book" of Paulet:

"This letter was received at Fotheringay the 2nd of February, at five in the afternoon." Immediately after, we have "An abstract of a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison, of the said 1st of February, 1586, as followeth:—'I pray you let this and the inclosed be committed to the fire, which measure shall be likewise met to your answer, after it hath been communicated to her majesty for her satisfaction.'" But Davison is still anxious; and we have next, "A postscript in a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison, of the 3d of February, 1586:—'I entreated you in my last letters to burn both the letters sent unto you for the argument's sake; which, by your answer to the secretary (which I have seen) appeareth not to be done. I pray you let me intreat you to make heretics both of th' one and th' other, as I mean to use yours after her majesty hath seen it.'" Davison is further so uneasy about the murderous letter, that he adds a

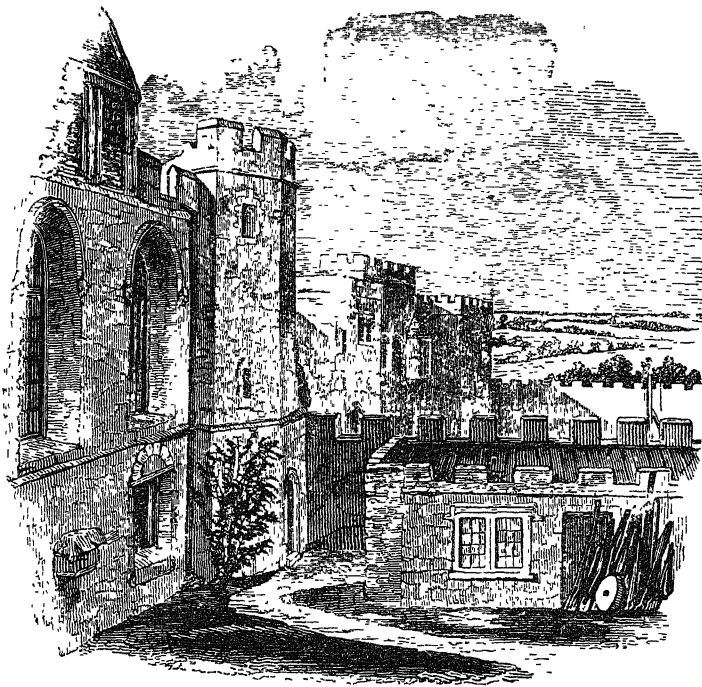
* "*Leycester Correspondence*," p. 447.

postscript to the postscript,—“I pray you let me know what you have done with my letters, because they are not fit to be kept.”

The letters, it is said, were not burnt. Chalmers gives an extract of a letter from Paulet, in which he says, “If I should say I burnt the papers you wot of, I cannot tell if anybody would believe me; and therefore I reserve them to be delivered into your own hands at my coming to London.” Dr. Lingard, who quotes this, says “He might do so: but the letter and answer had previously been entered into his letter-book. Had this not happened, the fact would never have come to light.” How does Dr. Lingard know that “the papers you wot of” refers to the letter of the 1st of February? If the letter-book itself were come to light we should be better satisfied as to “the fact.” As it is, these laborious postscripts, so carefully preserved, appear very much like the performance of some fabricator overdoing his work. There is one expression which to us is very suspicious: “I pray you let me intreat you to make heretics both of th’ one and th’ other.” Was this a common joke of the “Home Office” of 1587? Walsingham, in a letter to Leicester about the Babington Conspiracy (Cottonian MS.), says, “I pray your lordship make this letter an heretic after you have read the same.”* Or was this remarkable expression worked into Secretary Davison’s postscript by one who had been struck by it in the Cotton MS. ?—the friend of Hearne, who found these choice bits, and no other, in the “Manuscript folio book.” If these letters and postscripts were forgeries, they were founded upon the “discourse” of Davison, as “transcribed by Mr. John Urry, of Christchurch.” They fit tolerably well; but there is one slip. The haste with which the letters were exchanged, at a distance of eighty miles, is very remarkable. The answer to the secretary’s letter of the 1st of February is in London on the 3rd, according to Davison’s postscript, in which he says that he has seen it. But in Davison’s “discourse” we find that the queen asks him on the 4th if he had heard from Paulet, and he tells her “no.” That same afternoon he says, “I met with letters from him, in answer to those that were written *some few days before*.” In Davison’s story, after the date of the 1st of February, we have to fix the other dates by following the narrative day by day. It was easy to mistake the exact date, in the manufacture of a letter to suit the narrative, and give it a darker hue.

We might leave this mysterious question at this point, had we not a few words to add about the period at which the correspondence so calculated to damage the memory of the Protestant queen Elizabeth was first given to the world. It was in the hottest period of Jacobite plots for the bringing in of the Pretender. Harley, who makes copies of these letters, was implicated in these intrigues. They are first published by Dr. Mackenzie, in 1722; and being re-published in 1725, in a “Life of Mary, Queen of Scots,” by Freebairne, he says, with a curious sort of candour, speaking of the odious charge about assassination, “This affair, which leaves so foul a stain upon queen Elizabeth’s reputation, I dare not assert to be fact,” and he adds that, therefore, he shall only transcribe these letters; “a copy of which, transcribed from the originals, was sent to the Doctor by our learned countryman, Mr. John Hurry, of Christ’s Church College, Oxon.” Mr. John Urry, the incompetent editor of Chaucer, was known to Harley and Atterbury; and he might have received the letters from some zealous friend of the Stuarts. Hearne, who publishes them in 1724, was a non-juror; and his anxiety to give them to the world was shown by his thrusting them into the middle of a glossary of an ancient chronicle which he published. Lastly, Dr. Jebb prints the two letters in the Appendix to his History of Mary, queen of Scots, published in London, also in 1725. From that time the odious charge against Elizabeth has mainly rested upon these letters, as those who printed them clearly saw.

* “Leicester Correspondence,” p. 342.



Penshurst Castle.

CHAPTER XIV.

Funeral of Sir Philip Sidney—Preparations for the Invasion of England by Spain—Drake's Expedition to Cadiz—Suspected policy of James VI.—The Armada announced—The spirit of the country—Camp at Tilbury—The Mariners of England—Defences of the coast—The demeanour of the queen—Her oration at Tilbury—Loyalty of the Catholics.

LONDON has had its rejoicings that the great blow has been struck which is to deliver England from the dread of a papist successor to Elizabeth. The bells of the city's hundred steeples have proclaimed the stern exultation of the citizens that the voice of the parliament had at last been listened to. There is secret anger amongst a few ; and generous pity in many a woman's heart. But the common sentiment is that the danger of domestic treason has been removed ; and that the other danger of foreign invasion is less to be dreaded. In another week the patriotic feelings of the people are wisely stirred in their utmost depths. The queen has undertaken the charge of a costly public funeral of sir Philip Sidney. He who under the walls of Zutphen had perished untimely—who was no more to show his knightly bearing in the Tilt-yard, or to wander amidst the flower-enamelled meadows

of his own Penshurst—is lying insensible to earthly hopes or fears, at the house of the Minorites, without Aldgate. On the 16th of February there is a magnificent pageant in honour of the self-denying hero. From the Minorities to St. Paul's there is a long procession of the rulers of the city, clad in solemn purple. Young men selected from the train-bands march "three and three, in black cassokins, with their short pikes, halberds, and ensign trailing on the ground." * Brave comrades of Sidney in his battle-fields are there; and there is the ambitious Leicester, who has not yet resigned his scheme of being sovereign of the Netherlands. The people gaze upon Drake, the great mariner who has circumnavigated the world; and has carried terror of the English flag through all the Spanish settlements. In the pomp of that funeral of Sidney there is something more than empty pageantry. A long course of prosperous industry might be supposed to have unfitted those who had been winning the spoils of peace, for the defence of their country at a time of great national danger. The memory of that brave knight, who had fallen in the war of principle in the Low Countries, would present an example worthy of all imitation to high and humble. But the ancient spirit was not dead. In the midst of many differences of opinion amongst Protestants connected with the discipline of the Church, and with Romanists living under severe laws, there was to be, in another year, such an outburst of patriotism as would manifest that the love of country was above all divisions of creed. That glorious manifestation of national spirit in 1588 was also to show that a people does not necessarily become weakened in character by a long course of prosperity, but that the accumulations of peace are the real resources of war. It is not the diffusion of comforts and luxuries that renders a nation unwarlike and apathetic. It is the treading out of true nationality by lawless rulers—the shutting-up of all the fountains of independent thought by slavish superstition—that destroy the patriotism of a people, and make them incapable of defending their homes. There were many things in the political condition of the English under Elizabeth that are opposed to our notions of freedom—that were essentially characteristic of an arbitrary government. But the people were thriving; they were living under an equal administration of justice; and they were trusted. They had arms in their hands, and they were taught how to use them. There was no standing army; but every man of full age was a soldier. The feudal military organisation was gone. There was an organisation of the people amongst themselves equally effective, and far more inspiring.

In the spring of 1587 it was certain that Spain was making great preparations for the invasion of England. This design was the result of no sudden resolve. Elizabeth was not to be hurled from the throne of the heretic island, because Philip was provoked out of his forbearance by "an insult to the majesty of sovereigns, which, as the most powerful of Christian monarchs, he deemed it his duty to revenge." † The people of England by their parliament, Elizabeth by her ministers, "had taken, on a scaffold, the life of the queen of Scots;" but the projected invasion had been stimulated by that queen as the great scheme for bringing back England and Scotland to the

* Stow's "Annals."

† Lingard, vol. viii.

faith for which Philip and his adherents were calling into terrible vindictiveness all the horrors of the Inquisition and all the subtlety of the Jesuits. The day that was to decide for us which should prevail of the two principles that divided the Christian world was fast approaching. There was no hesitation here. Elizabeth provided Drake with four royal ships, and twenty-four other vessels were placed under his command by the citizens of London. On the 2nd of April this squadron was ready to sail out of Plymouth Sound. Drake wrote on that morning to Walsingham. "This last night past came unto us the Royal Merchant, with four of the rest of the London fleet; the wind would permit them no sooner. . . . The wind commands me away. Our ship is under sail. God grant we may so live in his fear, as the enemy may have cause to say that God doth fight for her majesty as well abroad as at home." In this solemn confidence in the Divine protection, went out these heroic men of an heroic age, "to stand," as Drake said, "for our gracious



Drake.

queen and country against Anti-Christ and his members;" and doubting not to give a good account of their enemies, "for they are the sons of men."* On the 19th of April he entered the harbour of Cadiz, which was filled with many Spanish ships, embarking provisions and warlike stores, and destined to proceed to join the great armament at Lisbon. Defying the guns of the fortress, and the huge Spanish galleys, with the dash of the true English seaman, Drake made himself master of the roadstead; and in the course of two nights and one day had sunk, burnt, or captured shipping of ten thousand tons lading. To use his own expressive phrase, he had "sing'd the Spanish king's beard." He had tried the comparatively small English vessels against the mighty galleys. They ran under the protection of the fort, after two had been sunk. He had found that daring

* Letter in State Paper Office, given in Barrow's "Life of Drake."

and activity were of more importance in a sea-fight than unwieldy strength; and the lesson was not forgotten when the day of the greater battle had come. Till another year the mighty attempt upon England was delayed by the skill and courage of the Devonshire captain. Setting sail for the Azores, Drake fell in with a most valuable Portuguese carrack, returning from the East Indies; and he took this ship with a lading which made the *San Philippe* the greatest prize that had ever rewarded the energy of English mariners. This triumph at Cadiz, and this capture of the rich merchant-ship, were of permanent importance. "The English, ever after that time, more cheerfully set upon those huge, castle-like ships, which before they were afraid of; and also they so fully understood, by the merchants' books, the wealth of the Indian merchandises and the manner of trading in the eastern world, that they afterwards set up a gainful voyage and traffic thither, ordaining a company of East Indian merchants." * Drake came back to Plymouth; and during a year of warlike inaction, with that practical energy which is one of the characteristics of greatness he conferred a lasting benefit upon that town. The populous place had no adequate supply of fresh water. At Dartmoor he found a leat, or spring, that he saw was capable of being conducted from the high ground to a reservoir at the northern suburb of Plymouth. He mounted his horse, says the local tradition, and riding to the distant hills found the desired supply; and having pronounced some magical words rode back, and the stream followed him all the way to the town. The Plymouth Leat still bestows its blessings upon a large population. Science since that time has uttered many words that appear still more magical; but the scientific instinct of this rough sailor was following the track by which philosophy has achieved its most enduring glories, in becoming the great minister to all those conveniences of life whose blessings are of universal diffusion.

After Drake's return there were many months of suspense. The people of England knew that the great attempt of the Spaniard was only deferred. The colonial enterprises in which Raleigh and other bold spirits desired to persevere, in spite of loss and disappointment, were suspended. Never were the prudence and vigilance of Elizabeth's statesmen more required. The position of Scotland was a very doubtful one. James had become of full age; and he was urged on many sides to revenge the death of his mother, by joining in the projects of Spain. It is difficult to understand what were his real inclinations. Henry Cary, lord Hunsdon, was sent as an ambassador to James; and Elizabeth professed great confidence in his friendship. James admitted that he had received tempting offers from Spain: but declared that he detested, as much as herself, the plots of the papists. Hunsdon had no faith in him, and wrote to Elizabeth, "If there were any good inclination in him toward your highness, which I neither find nor believe to be, yet he hath such bad company about him, and so maliciously bent against your highness, they will not suffer him to remain in it two days together." The "bad company" of which Hunsdon speaks consisted of Huntley, and other Catholic lords, who were preparing to collect forces to revolutionise Scotland, and aid, by a diversion, the great attempt upon England. Some of the band were intriguing in foreign courts, and communicating with Spain and Rome. But

* Camden.

Elizabeth and her agents eventually prevented James from being led away by his "bad company." She wrote to him in her bold characteristic style, "Right well am I persuaded that your greatest danger should chance you by crossing your strait paths; for he that hath two strings to his bow may shoot stronger, but never strait; and he that hath no sure foundation cannot but ruin."* But James was more effectually made to walk strait by present payments and large promises than by pithy lectures. The schemes of the Spanish faction were penetrated by the acuteness of Walsingham and his agents; and England was free to concentrate her energies upon the defence of her southern and western coasts, without troubling herself about an enemy on her northern borders.

The notion of a maritime invasion of England was, to the majority of the people, a dim tradition of centuries long past. There were a few towers on the coast, more calculated to resist a handful of sea-robbers than a large invading army. In the interior of the country most of the old feudal castles had gradually given place to baronial mansions; and those that remained were little suited for defence against artillery. Raleigh, the most sagacious in counsel or action, held that an invader could only be prevented landing by the resistance of a fleet; and he maintained that in a country where there were no fortified places, and the ramparts were only the bodies of men, it was most dangerous not to offer that resistance by a navy of competent strength. The government of Elizabeth knew the weakness of the country; but they also knew its power. They knew the mettle of its mariners; and they had no fear of the loyalty of the people. The mask of negotiation, by which Philip and the prince of Parma thought to divert attention from their real proceedings, had been thrown off. It was now thought the true policy to proclaim their vast preparations and the objects of that mighty arming, so as to terrify rather than delude. Pope Sixtus V. made a solemn treaty with Philip, and promised him an enormous subsidy, to be paid when he had taken absolute possession of any English port. The warlike pontiff was equally ready with his spiritual weapons. He published a new bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, and called all Catholics to a crusade against England, as for a holy war against the Infidel. They came from all lands where the doctrines of the Reformation had never taken root, or had been extirpated—they came, needy adventurers with high-sounding names, ready to fight for the true faith, and to have each a dainty plot of the English garden. They thought less of the plenary indulgences promised for their voluntary service, than of the stores of wealth that would reward their valour, when the Jezebel, the accursed queen, should be hurled from her throne, and the pope should



Medal struck by the Dutch. The pope, cardinals, and princes in conclave.

* "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. 51.

have bestowed the crown upon Philip or his nominee. Such were the bands that flocked to the standard of the duke of Parma in the Netherlands. But in Spain, and in Spain's newly acquired dominion of Portugal, all the proud chivalry that had won the golden lands of Mexico and Peru were to go forth to an easier conquest of the worse than heathen, who obstructed the universal acceptance of the Catholic faith in the old world, and had dared to dispute the power of Spain to have an absolute monopoly of the soil and the commerce of the new world. In the pride of their invincibility they now threw away all caution and concealment. They were "men grown fierce in the confidence of their own strength; and they held it sufficient to commend the cause, armada, and army, to the bishop of Rome, and the prayers of the Catholics to God and the saints; and to set forth a book in print, with maps, for a terror, wherein the whole preparation was particularly set down." *

The unequalled magnitude of this armament wrought no terror in England. The minds of men might be impressed with a solemn foreboding of a great battle to be fought which would determine the whole future destinies of this island; but there was no faint-heartedness. "Many ancient and strange prophecies in divers languages, and many excellent astronomers of sundry nations, had in very plain terms foretold, that the year 1588 should be most fatal and ominous unto all estates, concluding in these words: 'And if in that year the world do not perish and utterly decay, yet empires all, and kingdoms after, shall; and no man to raise himself shall know no way, and that for ever after it shall be called the year of wonder.'" † Englishmen heard the prophecy; but there was no faint-heartedness. They interpreted it, after their own resolute fashion, that the year 1588 should be a fatal and ominous year to their enemies; the God of the Bible, which Englishmen had learned to read and study, being with the defenders of the land that had cast off the usurped power and the superstitions of Rome. "The whole commonalty of England became of one heart and mind. . . . The English nation were so combined in heart, that I here confess I want art lively to express the sympathy of love between the subjects and the sovereign." ‡ The queen called upon her lieutenants of counties to set before the gentlemen under their lieutenancy, "the instant extraordinary occasion" for a larger proportion of horsemen and footmen than had been certified; "considering these great preparations and arrogant threatenings now burst out in action upon the seas, tending to a conquest wherein every man's particular state is in the highest degree to be touched, in respect of country, liberty, wife, children, lands, life, and that which specially is to be regarded, for the possession of the true and sincere religion of Christ." § She had, before this, through her Council, asked the authorities of London what the city would do; and the lord mayor and aldermen had besought that the Council would name what they thought was requisite. "The lords," says Stow, "demanded five thousand men and fifteen ships. The city craved two days' respite for an answer, which was granted; and then entreated their lordships, in sign of their perfect love and loyalty to their prince and country, kindly to accept

* Camden. Lord Burleigh's copy of the book "set forth in print" (Lisbon, 1588) is in the King's Library in the British Museum.

† Stow.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Letter of the queen, dated 18th of June. Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 187.

ten thousand men and thirty ships, amply furnished." In such a spirit as this there was something more invincible than all the armadas in the world. At the great camp at Tilbury was collected an army of train bands from the adjacent counties. Another army was in the interior for the defence of the queen's person, and to be used as a disposable force. "It was a pleasant sight to behold the soldiers as they marched towards Tilbury, their cheerful countenances, courageous words and gestures, dancing and leaping wheresoever they came." Well does the old historian paint the national spirit, most cheerful under the pressure of danger ;—the spirit of a really free population, ready to fight "as if lusty giants to run a race," and not the less prepared to fight because they had little experience of real warfare. They had country, liberty, wife, children, lands, life, religion, to defend, as their queen had told



Tilbury Fort (About 1680)

them. There was inequality of rank amongst them, but there was equality of duties and interests. The ploughman who followed his master's landlord to the field, the apprentice who was led by the alderman of his ward, had not been chilled into indifference by the insolence of birth, for the true gentleman was never insolent; nor by the pride of wealth, for the wealthy then respected those who were the instruments of their money-making. It was free England, socially free, which in 1588 was called to fight against the hated Spaniards, whose great galleys were rowed along by slaves, and whose

best mariners were regarded only as the drudges of the proud warriors who crowded the decks of the sailing ships. And thus, when an agent of the English council wrote home that the Spanish navy lay under the castle of Belem, expecting wind to set sail, and that he judged they would soon be in the English quarters—"so that the lightning and the thunder-clap will be both in a moment" *—at the same time every port, from the Lizard to the North Foreland, from the Naze to the Tyne, looked to its own little craft, and asked, in no niggard spirit, if it had a ship that could be fitted out at the common expense, to make one in that great sea-fight that was near at hand. There was not a port where mariners were not trained to hardy and dangerous adventure. They had gone forth, once from Deptford and twice from Harwich, with Frobisher, to search for the north-west passage. Three times



had the polar seas been penetrated by this intrepid navigator, who left his name in those regions to which so many other noble sailors have given a nomenclature. Davis followed Frobisher in the same enterprise. Our mariners had circumnavigated the world with Drake; and had carried the terror of the English flag, floating from the Pelican of Plymouth, into what was called the Indian Sea, in despite of the Spaniard, who held that the bishop of Rome had bestowed that vast ocean upon him alone. When Elizabeth told the Spaniard that her ships should sail, and her people should found colonies in places not already settled, in the Atlantic and the Pacific, without any regard to such imaginary right, there was many a gentle-

man of ancient family, and many a merchant prince of self-created fortune, ready to embark his property in this opening for colonial enterprise. In the year of the Armada, Cavendish was circumnavigating the world, and was warring against Spain, after the example of Drake, upon the coasts of Chili, and Peru, and New Spain; and he had taken a great galleon on the coast of California. But "the intrepid corsairs, who had rendered every sea insecure, now clustered round the coasts of their native island."† There were with them at this time an enterprising band who were preparing to send out a new colony to Virginia. The first noble projects of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother, Raleigh, had failed. Sir Richard Grenville had effected a settlement on the island of Roanoke; yet the hostilities of the natives, and the disputes of the colonists had prevented any effectual establishment of the English in North America at that period. The governor had returned home, despairing of success. A few years were to pass over before the Anglo-Saxon race was "to make new nations," amidst dense forests and boundless prairies. England, at the time of the governor of Virginia's return, had something nearer home to think of than the colonisation of North America. But she had tasted tobacco, and she hoped to find gold. The time for that great work of "plantation" was not far distant.

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 134.

† Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. ii. p. 173.

Amongst the curious relics of this most interesting period of our history one of the most curious is "A Plott of all the coast of Cornwall and Devonshire, as they were to be fortified in 1588 against the landing of any enemy."* In this "Plott" is most distinctly laid down every accessible point from the Land's end to Exmouth; and, less carefully marked for defence, on the north also. There appears to have been one invariable mode of defence upon the exposed coast, that of breastworks or redoubts, behind whose angles, more or less in number, appear soldiers, bearing pikes. At the havens, such as St. Michael's Mount, Plymouth, and Dartmouth, pieces of ordnance are placed. By this plan we are enabled to see what were the defences of Plymouth. In the centre of the Sound is a little fort with cannon; and on each side of the passage to the inner harbour are also cannon. The town is indicated by a church and some houses with gabled roofs; and before the town cannon are planted. Taken altogether, the number of stations for artillery is very inconsiderable. On this south-western coast, which was so exposed to the first attack of the invaders, the lines of intrenchment were evidently intended to be of no ordinary extent. But we may readily imagine that Raleigh's counsel to meet the enemy boldly at sea was considered far more practicable than the construction of land defences of such magnitude. Their purposed formation does not appear to have been entrusted to any famous military engineers, if we may judge from a notice of magistrates, in 1587, that they intended to proceed along the coast, to view the dangerous places for the landing of an enemy, calling upon the mayors of the towns to attend with all that are skilled in fortifications.† The temporary beacons that were built on every hill and high cliff of that coast, and which were to blaze out when the great hostile fleet first appeared in the Channel, were amongst the best means of defence. "The warning radiance" was to call every merchant ship that was waiting for the signal, to give its sails to the wind, and go forth to fight. It was to be repeated in the remotest counties, where well-disciplined men with bow and arquebuss, with pike and bill, were mustered day by day under their natural leaders. "There was through England, no quarter, east, west, north, or south, but all concurred in one mind, to be in readiness to serve for the realm . . . As the leaders and officers of the particular bands were men of experience in the wars, so, to make the bands strong and constant, choice was made of the principal knights of all counties to bring their tenants to the field, being men of strength, and landed, and of wealth; whereby all the forces, so compounded, were of a resolute disposition to stick to their lords and chieftains, and the chieftains to trust to their own tenants."‡ From Cornwall to Kent, and eastward to



* Cotton Collection, in the British Museum, Aug. I., vol. i. 6.

† Quoted from "Sherren Papers," in Roberts's "Southern Counties," p. 426.

‡ "Copy of a Letter sent to Mendoza." London, 1588. This curious tract, reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, purports to be by a Seminary Priest, but is evidently written by a well-informed Englishman in that character.

Lincolnshire, the same writer, who describes himself as an eye-witness, says that the maritime counties were so furnished with soldiers, that twenty thousand fighting men, with victual and ammunition, could have been collected in forty-eight hours at any point where an enemy landed.

Of all the defences of the realm at this crisis there were none which gave the people a greater confidence than the demeanour of the queen. At the camp at Tilbury, she was, day by day, in the midst of her soldiers; going amongst the levies in their particular stations; reviewing them when they were trained in battalions; saluted, wherever she moved, "with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness and willingness to fight for her." From that army, adds the eye-witness, went forth at certain times, a solemn voice to Heaven, of "divers psalms, put into form of prayers, in praise of Almighty God, no ways to be misliked, which she greatly commended, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them." To that camp of Tilbury, and to the towns near London, came bands of men from distant places, "whom she remanded to their countries, because their harvest was at hand; and many of them would not be countermanded, but still approached onward, on their own charges as they said, to see her person, and to fight with them that boasted to conquer the realm." The soldiers gazed upon their sovereign riding amidst the camp, bearing a marshal's truncheon; and knights and gentlemen pressed round her tent, where she sat surrounded by her great nobles, and having proffered their services and received her winning acceptance, led their bands home to spread the fame of the great queen, who was resolved, as she said, "to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust." Thus she said, in the famous oration which has been handed down to us—"words that burn,"—words which England has never forgotten in any hour of similar peril:—

"My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm! To which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms,—I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardness, you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the meantime, my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but, by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly

have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people."

But of all the defences of the country at this perilous crisis the loyalty of the great body of the Catholics was amongst the most important. The laws against Popish recusants were severe, but they were greatly mitigated in their execution; and it may reasonably be doubted whether the fines imposed upon them were inflicted, except in extreme cases. On the approach of the armada some of the recusants were thrown into prison; but they were released upon subscribing a declaration that the queen was their lawful sovereign, notwithstanding any excommunication; and that they would



Queen Elizabeth's Armoury in the Tower of London

defend her with life and goods against prince, pope, or potentate.* It was proposed by some to disarm them, but this absurd scheme was rejected; and the confidence of the government in the patriotism of the great body who adhered to the ancient church was strikingly exhibited by the appointment of Howard, a Catholic, to the command of the fleet. In truth the Jesuits and Seminary Priests had executed their mission in a way to disgust those who

* See note in Lingard, vol viii.

had sense to know that the Romanists constituted a minority of the country; and that, although their faith was not in the ascendant, they would not be persecuted for their opinions unless they were hounded on into conspiracy. The Catholic landed proprietors were Englishmen; they were gentlemen; their welfare was bound up with the prosperity of their country, and that was prosperous beyond all example. The miserable libels against the queen provoked their disgust, instead of exciting them to rebellion. The invading ships of Spain were laden with printed books, whose title was an "Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland, concerning the present Wars made for the execution of his holiness' sentence, by the high and mighty king catholic of Spain; by the cardinal of England." This brutal production, to which cardinal Allen had the baseness to put his name, contained the same filthy libels against Elizabeth as those which had been whispered through the land by the missionaries of Rome. The honest Catholics despised these gross calumnies and incentives to murder. When the trial came they were found in the train-bands of that queen who, they were told, "deserveth not only deposition, but all vengeance both of God and man." They were found nobly fighting in her ships. The time might come when such loyalty might be rewarded by equal civil rights, though not with ecclesiastical preponderance. There was a struggle of two hundred and fifty years before this great principle was fully recognised; but the noble example of the Catholics of 1588 has always endured, as one of the best arguments for a final and complete justice to their descendants.



Howard, Lord High Admiral.

CHAPTER XV.

Sailing of the Armada—The English Fleet—The Armada off Plymouth—The fight up Channel—The run to Calais—The Fire-Ships at Calais—The fight off Gravelines—The fight to the North—The Deliverance—The Thanksgiving—Spain makes new preparations—Expeditions against Spain—The heroic time.

ON the 28th of May, 1588, from his galleon San Marten, lying in the Tagus off Belem, the duke of Medina Sidonia, "captain-general of the ocean sea, of the coast of Andalusia, and of this army of his majesty," issued his orders to be observed in the voyage towards England. This was an army, he it remarked, and the command of it was given to a general. The fighting men who went on board that fleet, and the mariners who worked the ships, were a distinct race; and there were especial regulations for holding them together in a very doubtful amity. On the 29th of May, the captain-general being under the towers of Belem, led the way down the Tagus; and amidst the sounding of trumpets from every vessel, the mighty armada followed him, when he had fired his gun as the signal. Being specially warned in these

orders to beware of sands and "cachops,"* they sweep majestically down the broad river, and having passed the Bar are in the vast Atlantic. Never did such a sight present itself to the gazers on the hills, as when the ten squadrons of this fleet dropped down the Tagus, issuing, in a succession that appeared endless, out of the great bay. The captain-general commanded twelve Portuguese galleons, the largest sailing-vessels. There were the fleets of Biscay, of Castile, of Andalusia, of Guyppuscoa; the Eastern fleet; the fleet called Urcas or Hulks, and a squadron of smaller vessels. Lastly, were four galleasses of Naples, and four galleys of Portugal; these eight enormous vessels being rowed by two thousand and eighty-eight slaves. The whole number of ships was one hundred and thirty-six; having a burthen of 59,120 tons; mounted with 3165 pieces of cannon; worked by 8746 mariners, besides the slaves; and carrying 21,639 soldiers. This fleet was accompanied by a large number of trading vessels, ready to supply its wants. Every ship was provided with two boat-loads of stones, "to throw in the time of fight;" and with wild-fire, to be given out to the most expert. All the vessels were to sail as close as possible. Their course was for Cape Finisterre, where they were to rendezvous, in case of separation; or to make for Corunna, then known as The Groyne. Departing thence, "they shall set their course for Scilly." If any ship were to lose the fleet, the crew were not to return to Spain, under penalty of death; but to seek the navy "in Mount's Bay, which is between the Land's End and the Lizard." And so they sailed along in great pomp and security, hoping to be on the south-western coast of England, at the time when another fleet, equipped in the Netherlands, should be ready to sail under the command of the prince of Parma. But when the Spanish fleet had nearly reached Cape Finisterre, a storm arose, which scattered the ships, and compelled the great body of the armament to go into Corunna to refit. The news reached England that the mighty fleet had been nearly destroyed; and the lord high admiral, Howard of Effingham, sailed from England to complete the destruction. But he found that the storm had been less fatal than believed, and that the expectation that no invasion would be attempted that summer was a mistake. He wisely returned, to wait for the enemy in the Channel. For a month did the great fleet lie in Corunna harbour. The prince of Parma's flat-bottomed vessels, for the conveyance of thirty-five thousand men, were lying at Bruges; and the ports of Nieuport and Dunkirk, from which they could have put to sea, were blockaded by a combined English and Dutch fleet. The instructions for the invasion were rigidly laid down at the court of Madrid. The Spanish fleet was to steer for Flanders; and under its protection the duke of Parma was to disembark his army in Kent or Essex, and march to London. The plan was known; and hence the camp at Tilbury, with a bridge of boats to Gravesend, for connecting the Essex and Kentish shores. The Flemish army having landed, the troops of the armada were to be carried to the coast of Yorkshire. There was an arrangement also, that when the Spanish armament came into the Channel it should have the co-operation of the duke of Guise, who was to land in the west, to effect a diversion; whilst the real attacks upon the capital and in the north were going forward. The delay at Corunna disconcerted these arrangements. But

* Cachops are great banks at the mouth of the Tagus.

whilst the triple danger appeared imminent, the English courage never quailed. Guise withdrew his troops to the interior. Parma made no strenuous efforts to take his share in the great enterprise.* The storm that drove Medina and his galleons and galleasses into Corunna might have disturbed these plans; but the English and Dutch preparations were not likely to make Guise and Parma confident of their easy execution.

The queen's ships at Plymouth, under the lord high admiral, were thirty-four in number. Their aggregate burthen was 11,820 tons; they mounted 837 guns; and they mustered 6279 seamen. Howard was in the *Ark-Royal*, of 800 tons; Drake, the vice-admiral, was in the *Revenge*, 500 tons; Hawkins, the rear-admiral, was in the *Victory*, 800 tons; Frobisher was in the *Triumph*, 1100 tons. This was the largest ship of the fleet, of which one-third of the number was below 100 tons. But there were forty-two vessels serving by tonnage, merchant-ships, which had 2587 mariners; and there were thirty-eight vessels, carrying 2710 mariners, fitted out by the city of London. With coasters and volunteers, the whole number of ships, large and small, was one hundred and ninety-seven, having one-half only of the tonnage of the Spanish fleet. The greater part was in Plymouth and Dartmouth; but, a squadron under lord Seymour was taking part in the blockade of the Flemish coast. The whole number of sailors in the fleet was 15,785. The mariners were the only fighting men of the ships. The differences of construction and of equipment in the English and the Spanish navies were most remarkable; but they were not so remarkable as the difference of the men on board of them. The Portuguese galleys, each with three hundred rowers, could move against the wind as if by steam. But the poor slaves were perfectly exposed to the shot of large and small arms; and the movements of the enormous vessels were thus liable to serious interruption. The galleons were unwieldy floating towers, with many decks, where the soldiers and gunners were stowed amidst comforts unknown to the mariners. In the orders for sailing of the duke of Medina we find, "for that the mariners must resort unto their work, tackle, and navigation, it is convenient that their lodging be in the upper works of the poop and forecastle, otherwise the soldiers will trouble them in the voyage." But this was the invariable practice in the Spanish navy. "The mariners are but as slaves to the rest, to moil and to toil day and night; and these [the mariners] but few and bad, and not suffered to sleep or harbour under the decks. For, in fair or foul weather, in storms, sun, or rain, they must pass void of covert or succour."* The English ships were short in the build; and were rigged so as readily to tack. Every man on board was as willing to assist in working his vessel as to fight. Drake, in his voyage round the world, exclaimed, "I must have the gentlemen to hale and draw with the mariners." Officers and men stood by each other in a brotherhood made closer by a common danger and a mutual dependence. Thus, when the two fleets came together in action, "the English ships, being far the lesser, charged the enemy with marvellous agility; and having discharged their broadsides flew forth furiously into the deep, and levelled their shot directly without missing, at these great ships of the Spaniards."† When

* Quoted in "Westward Ho," by the Rev. Charles Kingsley; a romance imbued with the truest spirit of history, and displaying a far higher, because more intelligent, patriotism, than most of our modern histories of this period of heroic struggle.

† Camden, ed. 1630.

Valdez, the commander of the Andalusian squadron, lost his foremast; "he lay," says Stow, "like a stiff elephant in the open field, beset with eager hounds." Wotton has compared the movements of the English ships to "a morrice-dance upon the waters."

On the 12th of July the Spanish fleet stood out to sea from Corunna. The armada kept its course through the Bay of Biscay, with a favourable wind, until the 16th, when there was a great calm and a thick fog till noon. The wind shifting from north-east to west, and then to east-south-east, dispersed the ships; and they were scarcely gathered together when the English coast was in sight. On the 19th they were seen entering the Channel by Fleming, a captain of a pinnace, according to Camden; but by other accounts a Scottish pirate. This captain, whether honest trader or rover, made all sail for Plymouth, to communicate his momentous news. There was a gallant fleet in the harbour; and there were commanders on shore, of the same material as that out of which the Blakes and Nelsons were formed. About the port was a great land force under the orders of Raleigh, who would rather have been at sea. *The Howards were there, lord Charles and lord Thomas, with lord Sheffield, the nephew of the lord high admiral, and sir Robert Southwell, his son-in-law. But birth then gave no exclusive

title to command. The rough-handed Hawkins, and Drake, and Frobisher, and Fenner, and many another captain who had steered and fought his way upwards from the forecastle, were there; and they went to their work with that hearty will which is best inspired by a free service. And so, on the night of the 19th,—after Drake had finished his game at bowls, in which tradition we have a lively faith,—the fleet was warped out of the harbour. Howard told, in a letter of the 21st addressed to Walsingham, the story of his first operations, using the brief style best suited for a man of action: "I will not trouble you with any long letter; we are at this present otherwise occupied than with writing. Upon Friday, at Plymouth, I



received intelligence that there were a great number of ships descried off the Lizard; whereupon, although the wind was very scant, we first warped out of harbour that night; and upon Saturday it turned out rain, hard by, the wind being at south-west; and about three of the clock in the afternoon descried the Spanish fleet, and we did what we could to work for the wind, which by this morning we had recovered, descrying their fleet to consist of a hundred and sixty sail." *

"At Plymouth speedily, took they ship valiantly;

Braver ships never were seen under sail,

With their fair colours spread, and streamers on their head—

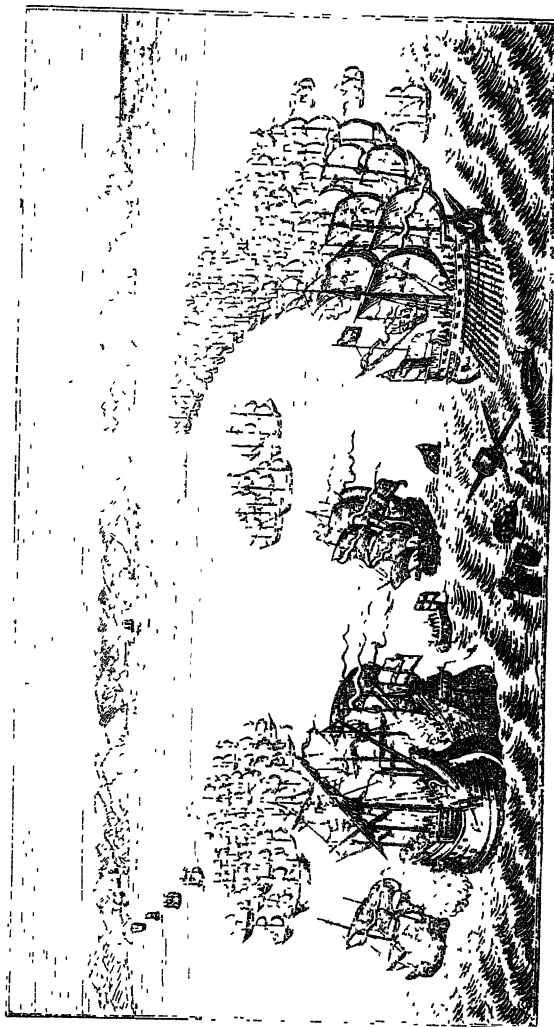
Now bragging Spaniards, take care of your tail." †

Up the Channel sail the galleons and the galleasses, the carracks and argosies, before that south-west breeze. England is on the look-out from every

* Letter in the State Paper Office.

† Ballad, "The winning of Cales," Percy, vol. ii.

hill and every beach from the Lizard to the Start. Little pinnaces go boldly forth from Marazion, and Falmouth, and Fowey ; as Howard and his fleet pass the Eddystone, then a bare rock with no warning light. Is the great armada about to attack Plymouth ? The day will show. It sweeps on " in front like a half-moon, the horns stretching forth about the breadth of seven miles, sailing as it were with labour of the winds, and groaning of the ocean, slowly, though with full sails." Will Howard not give fight ? Will



The English fleet, as it appeared by the English fleet, (from the tapestry in the House of Lords, destroyed in the fire at the Houses of Parliament.)

the daring captains who have borne the English flag from the north pole to the tropics, and some of whom have put a girdle round the earth, will they let the armada pass unscathed ? They know their business. "Willingly they

suffer it to pass by, that they might chase them in the rear with a foreright wind." On the 21st, "about nine of the clock, before noon, the lord admiral commanded his pinnace, called the *Disdain*, to give the defiance unto the duke of Medina." It was the old feudal challenge; but there was no pause for the answer. The pinnace fired a shot at the first ship it met, and Howard, like a gallant leader as he was, began the fight: "with much thundering out of his own ship, called the *Ark-royal*, he first set upon the admiral, as he thought, of the Spaniards; but it was Alphonso de Lena's ship. Soon after, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, played with their ordnance upon the hindmost squadron, which was commanded by Recalde, who laboured all he could to stay his men that fled to the fleet, till his own ship, being much battered with shot, and now grown unserviceable, hardly withdrew itself to the main fleet. At which time the duke of Medina gathered together his fleet scattered here and there, and hoisting more sail, held on his intended course. Neither could he do any other, seeing both the wind favoured the English, and their ships would turn about with incredible celerity which way soever they would to charge, wind, and tack about again. And now had they maintained a hot fight the space of two hours, when the lord admiral thought not good to continue the fight any longer, for that forty of his ships were not yet come in, being scarce yet gotten out of the haven." *

The night that followed was one of strange tumult in those waters, which a foreign ship had not traversed in man's remembrance without vailing to the English flag. The sea was troubled; the sky was dark; a huge Biscayan vessel took fire; and in the confusion the galleon of Don Pedro de Valdez got foul of another ship, and was left behind. Drake had gone after five vessels that proved to be merchantmen of Germany; and this had deranged the movements of the squadron that was to have followed his lantern. Howard, with two ships, had held on through the night after the Spaniards. Drake coming back from his bootless chase fell in with the great galleon abandoned by her companions; and Valdez became his prisoner, with a booty of 55,000 ducats, which were distributed amongst the crews. At nightfall of that second day the active vice-admiral was again with his commander. The next morning Howard was better prepared for a general engagement. His men were in great heart, for the invincible armada was found to be vulnerable. The remainder of the fleet has come out of Plymouth, and Raleigh has come with them, to take his share in that sea-fight, rather than remain with his inactive army on land. The armada on this morning of the 23rd of July is off Portland. And now, says Stow, "the English navy, being well increased, gave charge and chase upon the enemy, squadron after squadron seconding each other like swift horsemen that could nimbly come and go, and fetch the wind with most advantage. . . . The English chieftains ever sought to single out the great commanders of the Spanish host, whose lofty castles held great scorn of their encounter." But the English chieftains knew better tactics than to attempt to grapple with these castles, and to board them. They knew that if their daring sailors could climb to their highest decks, they would there find great companies of soldiers in armour, provided with every instrument of destruction. Raleigh had told them, as he said

* This passage is from Camden. We shall use his words occasionally, and those of Stow and other old writers, without always indicating the authority from which we quote.

afterwards in his "History of the World," that "to clap ships together without consideration belongs rather to a madman than a man of war;" that "the guns of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift." And so the English, having been well taught "the difference



Raleigh.

between fighting loose or at large, and grappling," ran in under the great galleons, and having delivered their broadsides, sheered out of the range of the Spanish guns, which were high above the water-line. "Never was heard greater thundering of ordnance on both sides, which notwithstanding from the Spaniards flew for the most part over the English without harm." In this furious skirmish there was alternate success. The ships of London, hemmed in by the Spaniards, were rescued by the queen's ships; and the fleet of Biscay, under Recalde, being surrounded by the English wasps, was delivered from danger by the galleasses, who, "as sergeants of the band, would issue forth to succour their distressed friends." One English commander only fell—"Cock, an Englishman, who died with honour in the midst of the enemies in a small ship of his." From morning till night this fight continued; the Spaniards sometimes bearing down upon their pursuers, and then going before the west wind towards St. Alban's Head.

The 24th is a day of rest. The fleets are becalmed, with the Needles in distant view. Howard has sent some small craft to Portsmouth for supplies of ammunition. From every port of Dorsetshire and Hampshire fresh ships have come forth, hired and armed by the gentlemen of England to aid in this great defence. The harvest-time is at hand; but let the rye and the barley,

the wheat and the oats, be gathered in by the women and the children and the old men; for the able-bodied must fight, or no harvest will in future be worth the gathering for the Anglo-Saxon race. For four days the fishermen of the long line of shore have been hovering about the fleets, instead of casting their nets. The sea-weed burners on the shelves of the coast have let out their fires, and have climbed to the cliffs to gaze upon the flashing smoke far out at sea. Now the great towers lie idly about Purbeck, and the men of Poole and Christchurch wonder if they are going up the Solent. For four nights the beacon-fires have been lighted. For four nights they have proclaimed to the people throughout the land that they must watch and pray. On this fifth night of danger they again send out their tongues of flame from every cliff and every hill:—

“For swift to east and swift to west the warning radiance spread—
High on St. Michael’s Mount it shone—it shone on Beachy Head.
Far o’er the deep the Spaniard saw, along each southern shire,
Cape beyond cape, in endless range, those twinkling points of fire.” *

The armada lies becalmed, on the 25th of July, below the chalk cliffs of Freshwater. It is the day of St. James the Great, the patron saint of Spain; but it is not a day in which the saint will inspire the Spaniard with the determination to fight against the Heretic, as he inspired him to fight against the Moslem. A great galleon, disabled in the fight of the 23rd, has dropped astern; and Hawkins, in the Victory, has been towed to take possession of her. There is no resistance from the galleon. But a thousand oars are now lashing the quiet waves; and three of the great galleasses come to rescue her, and to punish her daring captor. But the Lion and the Bear, the Triumph and the Elizabeth Jonas, are quickly about them, with their sixty pounders, and their thirty-three pounders, known as cannon and demi-cannon, “sending their dole until the Spaniard’s blood ran out at scupper-hole.” The battle, for a breeze had sprung up, again becomes general. Medina’s ship, the San Martin, has her mainmast shot away, and is about to strike to Frobisher. Medina is saved by his generals, Mexia and Recalde. Howard joins in the struggle. The issue is long doubtful. But the English powder is exhausted; and there is no more fighting on that summer afternoon. The next day the lord high admiral is bestowing the greatest honour that the worthies of England then aspired to receive. Lords might be born, but Knights must be made. For their services in these six days of incessant work, lord Sheffield and lord Thomas Howard, Frobisher, Townsend and Hawkins, were knighted “for their valour.” It was resolved to defer any further attack till the Spaniard was in the narrow sea. “So with a fair Etesian gale, which in our sky bloweth for the most part from the south-west and by south, clear and fair, the Spanish fleet sailed forward, the English fleet following close at the heels.” On the 26th and 27th, the vast navies are seen as they coast along, from Selsea Bill, and from the downs of Brighton, from Hastings, and from Dungeness. For seven days has the Spaniard been fighting his way through the Channel, and at length he is at anchor before Calais on the Saturday night of that week of memorable conflict. But when the morning of Sunday dawns, and the French and Walloons go out in their boats with fresh pro-

* Macaulay.

visions for those whose ships are laden with gold, and who readily give sixpence for a fresh egg, the English fleet of a hundred and forty sail is riding in Calais Roads within cannon-shot of the exceeding great ships, whose greatest still keep the outer line against their enemy. England, then, is not yet beaten, as the rumour has gone forth; for "in Paris, Don Bernadino de Mendoza, ambassador from Spain, entered into the church of Notre Dame, advancing his rapier in his right hand, and with a loud voice, cried, *Victoria, Victoria*; and it was forthwith bruited that England was vanquished." On that Sunday the heart of England sends up to Heaven the simple but solemn prayer, "Save and deliver us, we humbly beseech Thee, from the hands of our enemies." In this time of need the queen had herself composed a prayer, which had been sent to "the general of her highness' army at Plymouth," as her majesty's private meditation:—"Most Omnipotent, and Guider of all our world's mass, that only searchest and fathomest the bottom of all hearts' conceits, and in them seest the true original of all actions intended, how no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greediness of lucre, hath bred the resolution of our now set out army; but a heedful care, and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor over surety of harm, might breed either danger to us, or glory to them; these being grounds, Thou that didst inspire the mind, we humbly beseech, with bended knees, prosper the work, and with the best forewinds guide the journey, speed the victory, and make the return the advancement of Thy glory, the triumph of Thy fame, and surety to the realm, with the least loss of English blood. To these devout petitions, Lord, give Thou Thy blessed grant. Amen."* The prayer was mercifully heard to its fullest extent.

On that Sunday in Calais Roads, there is work being done by Drake and his men—a work of necessity which will brook no delay. For the duke of Medina has dispatched messenger after messenger to the duke of Parma, to bid him send "light vessels," without which the Spaniard could not well fight with the English; and to urge him to put to sea with his army, which the Spanish fleet would protect till the landing upon the hated shore was accomplished. Parma's boats were leaky; his provisions were exhausted; his sailors had deserted; he was kept in port by the vigilant Dutch. But nevertheless a junction might have been fatal; and the Spaniard must be crippled before he again weighs anchor. It is two o'clock of the Monday morning. The stillness is scarcely broken by a slight movement upon the sea. There are eight small vessels being towed from the main body of the English fleet, and they are bearing with the wind upon the Spanish anchorage. Are they deserters; or are they rushing upon certain destruction? Suddenly a strong light bursts out from each vessel. The tow-boats leave them, and they drift with the breeze right into the centre of the armada. Then vast volumes of flame and smoke roll out from the burning hulks, with fearful explosions and sulphury stench; and the sea defences of Calais, and the church towers which overlook them, gleam with more than noon-day brightness; and the red glare is seen across the sea from Dover heights, and along the shore from Gravelines to Boulogne. Young and Prowse, who led these fire-ships into the heart of the enemy's fleet, have done their duty well. The bold stroke,

* MS. in British Museum, endorsed as being sent by sir Robert Cecil to the generals.

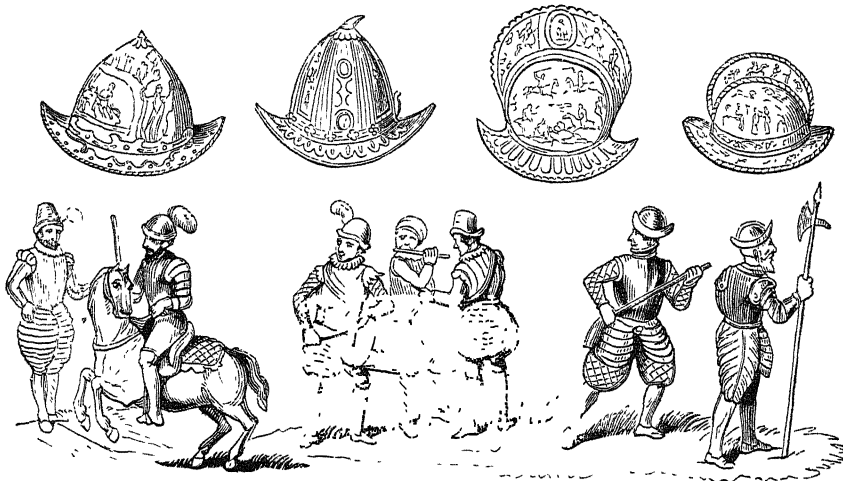
devised by Elizabeth herself as contemporaries say, has been successful beyond hope. The Spaniards had seen the effects of "sundry works of wild-fire lately made to break the bridge at Antwerp,"—it was in the siege of 1585—and now, "all amazed, with shrieks and loud outcries, to the great astonishment of the near inhabitants, crying 'The fire of Antwerp! the fire of Antwerp!' some cut cables, others let the hawsers slip, and happiest they who could first be gone, though few could tell what course to take." * One of the largest of the galeasses was stranded near the town of Calais, and was taken, after a fierce engagement, in which many English were slain, and the Spaniards lost four hundred men. Medina conducted himself with courage and coolness, and his ship, with a few others, resumed their stations. But the bulk of the fleet was running up Channel in wild confusion. Some went ashore on the Flemish coast; others stood out to sea; many got together as well as they could near Gravelines. But Drake and Fenner were fighting them from the first peep of the dawning; and now come up Hawkins and Fenton, Seymour and Cumberland, Southwell and Frobisher, and there is again a general battle under the castle of Gravelines; for Howard himself is up at his post. He has written somewhat despairingly to Walsingham of the want of ammunition; saying, with the true modesty of the brave, "Their force is wonderful great and strong, and yet we pluck their feathers by little and little." In that fleet the "mighty ships and of great strength," were as four to one compared with the larger ships of the English. The Spanish castles have fearful difficulty in avoiding the shallows. They are hemmed in with danger. They must keep together; or be made prize if they run out to sea. A galleon of Biscay, the *San Matthew*, has surrendered; another great ship is stranded; the *San Philipe* is drifting disabled upon the Flemish shore, and will be boarded by the sailors of Flushing. No help will come from the duke of Parma. There is no chance of the union of the two armies. "The English forces," says Stow, "being now wholly united, prevented their enemies conjoining together, and followed their fortunes to the uttermost, continuing four days' fight in more deadly manner than at any time before, and having incessant cause of fresh encouragement chased the Spaniards from place to place, until they had driven them into a desperate estate; so as of necessity, as well for that the wind was westerly, as that their enemies increased, and their own provision of sails, anchors, and cables greatly wasted, resolved to shape their course by the Orcades and the north of Ireland."

The last great fight was on the 29th of July. The scattered remnant of the armada holds on its perilous course, past Dunkirk, past the mouth of the Scheldt, full into the North Sea. No more will the beacon-fires be lighted on the Southern coast of England. The Eastern has nothing to fear from these enemies. Drake is in the wake of the flying squadrons. What a model despatch does this true English sailor write to Walsingham, on this last of July, 1588:—"We have the army of Spain before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle a fall with them. There was never anything pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a south wind to the northwards. God grant they have a good eye to the duke of Parma; for with the grace of God, if we live, I doubt it not but ere it be long so to handle the

* Stow.

matter with the duke of Sidonia as he shall wish himself at St. Marie among his orange-trees. God give us grace to depend upon Him, so shall we not doubt victory, for our cause is good."

The prince of Parma had failed the Spaniards. They had received a message from him, as they lay before Calais on that Sunday the 28th, that he could not be ready for them till the Friday following. On that Friday they were far away to the north, the English pursuing. Howard writes, on the 7th of August, to Walsingham, "Notwithstanding that our powder and shot was well near all spent, we set on a brag countenance and gave them chase, as though we had wanted nothing, until he had cleared our own coast and some part of Scotland." Seymour had returned with his squadron, after he had passed the Brill, to look after the duke of Parma. On the 2nd of August, says a Spanish narrative, "the enemy's fleet still followed the armada in the morning, but they turned towards the coast of England, and we lost sight of them." Sir William Monson, a contemporary writer, says, "The opportunity was lost, not through the negligence or backwardness of the lord admiral, but merely through the want of providence in those that had the charge of furnishing and providing for the fleet; for, at that time of so great advantage, when they came to examine their provisions, they found a general scarcity of



Morions, from the Meyrick collection; and Military Costume of 1590, from one of the morions

powder and shot, for want of which they were forced to return home." The arsenals of England in those days were scantily supplied; and we may well believe that there was no expectation that the dreaded conflict would have ended at sea. The daring and the endurance of her sailors could not have been wholly trusted to, when the enemy to be resisted was of such gigantic force. The men on shore would have fought to the death; and there was not a town that would not have sent out its train-bands in harness, with arquebuss, and pike, and the old mighty long-bow. Raleigh held, that without an adequate fleet no force could debar an enemy from landing; but the fleet which drove

Medina to the Orkneys, and left Parma's gun-boats in the canal of Bruges, could scarcely have been counted upon to do the work of defence single-handed. It did its work nobly. It saved England in those twelve days of desperate fight and stormy chase. The breath of heaven did what Howard and Drake left undone. "*Flavit Jehovah et dissipati sunt*"—Jehovah blew and they were scattered—is the legend of one of the medals that recorded this marvellous success.

There are minute and apparently trustworthy accounts of the wretched fortune of the armada, after it had passed the coast of Scotland, which are derived from the examinations of Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian sailors who were wrecked in September on the western coasts of Ireland.* Putting this evidence together, we find it stated that after the fight off Gravelines there were a hundred and ten (some state a hundred and twenty) sail left of the whole Spanish navy. After the English fleet left them, the Spaniards cast all the horses and mules into the sea, to save their water. Coming to an island at the north of Scotland, the general gave orders that they should make the best of their way to any part of the Portuguese or Spanish coast. Ships, having lost their anchors, their masts shot through, their hulls riddled with shot-holes, had sunk on the coast of Scotland, and in the open North Sea, or were cast on the shores of the Western Isles. About the 20th of August there came on a great storm which divided the fleet; and, ten days after, another storm scattered them around the shores of Connaught and Kerry. The testimony of a Genoese pilot of the ship called Our Lady of the Rosary, in which was the prince of Ascule, a natural son of the king of Spain, is thus recorded: "He saith this ship was shot through four times, and one of the shot was between the wind and the water, whereof they thought she would have sunk, and most of her tackle was spoiled with shot. This ship struck against the rocks in the Sound of the Bleskies, a league and a half from the land, upon Tuesday last at noon, and all in the ship perished, saving this examinant, who saved himself upon two or three planks that were loose." The duke of Medina kept out in the open sea, and entered the Bay of Biscay about the end of September. A few ships reached Spain, under the command of Recalde, in a shattered condition. Some of the wretched men who were shipwrecked were murdered by the wild Irish; and some, more disgracefully, were put to the sword by order of the lord deputy. Hakluyt thus sums up the Spanish losses: "Of one hundred and four and thirty sail, that came out of Lisbon, only three and fifty returned to Spain. Of the four galleasses of Naples, but one; the like of the largest galleons of Portugal; of the one and ninety galleons and great hulks, from divers provinces, only three and thirty returned. In a word, they lost eighty-one ships in this expedition, and upwards of thirteen thousand five hundred soldiers."

Before the ultimate fate of the armada could be known, Elizabeth wrote this characteristic letter to the king of Scotland:—

"Now may appear, my dear brother, how malice conjoined with might strive to make a shameful end to a villainous beginning, for, by God's singular favour, having their fleet well beaten in our narrow seas, and pressing with all violence to achieve some watering place, to continue their pretended in-

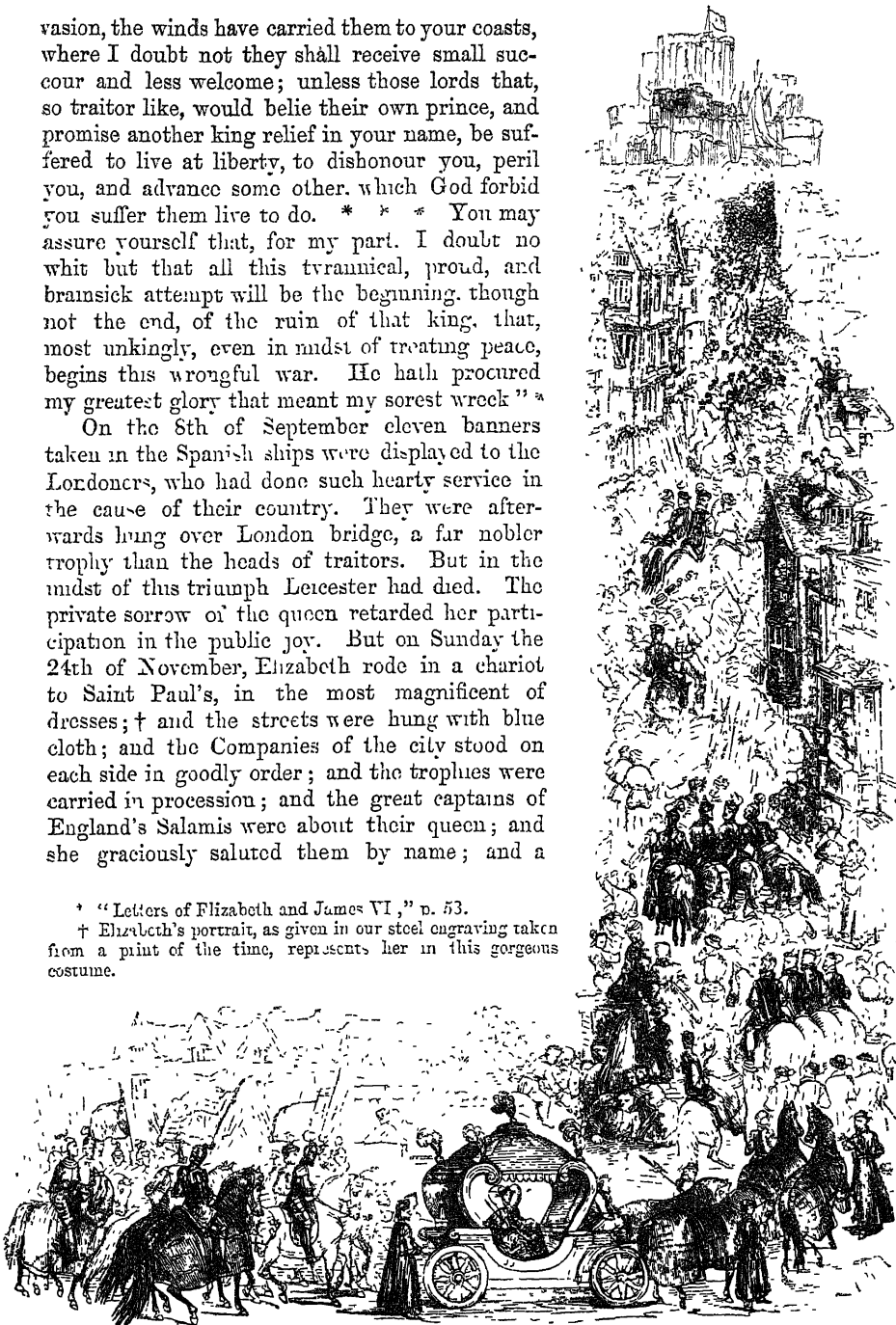
* "Certain Advertisements out of Ireland," 1588, reprinted in the "Harleian Miscellany."

vasion, the winds have carried them to your coasts, where I doubt not they shall receive small succour and less welcome; unless those lords that, so traitor like, would belie their own prince, and promise another king relief in your name, be suffered to live at liberty, to dishonour you, peril you, and advance some other. which God forbid you suffer them live to do. * * * You may assure yourself that, for my part. I doubt no whit but that all this tyrannical, proud, and brainsick attempt will be the beginning. though not the end, of the ruin of that king. that, most unkingly, even in midst of treating peace, begins this wrongful war. He hath procured my greatest glory that meant my sorest wreck " *

On the 8th of September eleven banners taken in the Spanish ships were displayed to the Londoners, who had done such hearty service in the cause of their country. They were afterwards hung over London bridge, a far nobler trophy than the heads of traitors. But in the midst of this triumph Leicester had died. The private sorrow of the queen retarded her participation in the public joy. But on Sunday the 24th of November, Elizabeth rode in a chariot to Saint Paul's, in the most magnificent of dresses; † and the streets were hung with blue cloth; and the Companies of the city stood on each side in goodly order; and the trophies were carried in procession; and the great captains of England's Salamis were about their queen; and she graciously saluted them by name; and a

* "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI," p. 53.

† Elizabeth's portrait, as given in our steel engraving taken from a print of the time, represents her in this gorgeous costume.



Procession to St. Paul's.

solemn thanksgiving was offered up, and the glory given to God only. On that day there were also given in every church of the land "public and general thanks unto God, with all devotion and inward affection of heart and humbleness, for his gracious favour extended towards us in our deliverance and defence, in the wonderful overthrow and destruction showed by his mighty hand on our malicious enemies the Spaniards, who had thought to invade and make a conquest of the realm."

The parliament which met in February, 1589, was naturally warlike; exulting in the past success, and resolved upon supporting the queen in the contest which was so truly a battle for national existence. Sir Christopher Hatton, the lord chancellor, told the Peers and Commons not to be deceived into a belief that England was secure, through the Divine mercy which had rendered the vast armada vain and useless. "Do not you imagine," he said, "that they are ardently studious of revenge? Know you not the pride, fury, and bitterness of the Spaniard against you?" This was preparatory to asking for a subsidy; and, although there was no precedent for such a mark of confidence, two subsidies were granted in one supply, payable in four years. There was no delusion in the belief that Philip would renew his attempt upon England. It was proclaimed by the fanatical Romanists in their writings, that it was not till two attacks had failed that the Israelites made desolate the towns and villages of the tribe of Benjamin, and smote man and beast with the edge of the sword. The chastisement of the English, they said, was only deferred. Philip resolved to build smaller vessels, and to sail direct to the English coast from his harbours in the Peninsula. He would persevere, even if he sold the silver candlesticks which stood on his table.* The Anglo-Saxon spirit was now thoroughly roused; and any scheme for attacking Spain was sure to receive the heartiest encouragement. The government of Elizabeth was economical in the extreme; and it was indisposed to undertake any war, except a war of defence, upon a large scale. The people, therefore, were encouraged to fit out expeditions at their own cost, to which the queen lent assistance. It is common to impute blame to Elizabeth for this parsimony; but her revenues were not spent in her own luxurious gratification. In 1592, sir John Fortescue, after reciting how she had sustained the people of the Low Countries in their contest for freedom; and had assisted Henry of Navarre against the League, "to free us from war at home;" went on to state in what other honourable ways Elizabeth had employed her revenues: "When her majesty came to the crown, she found it four millions indebted. Her navy when she came to view it, she found greatly decayed. Yet, all this she hath discharged, and, thanks to God, is nothing indebted; and now she is able to match any prince in Europe, which the Spaniards found when they came to invade us. . . . As for her own private expenses, they have been little in building; she hath consumed little or nothing in her pleasures." It has ever been a fashion to call such royal economy meanness; and other queens, as well as Elizabeth, have been slandered for their integrity. We may excuse her government, in their desire not to make rash experiments upon the willingness of the people to bear heavy taxation, if they only gave sixty thousand pounds towards a great expedition for winning Portugal from the Castilians,—whom the Portuguese hated,—to place the crown upon the head of Don Antonio, an ille-

* Ranke, vol. ii. p. 174.

gitimate branch of the royal line of that country which Philip had added to Spain. Sir Francis Drake and sir John Norris undertook to lead this somewhat rash enterprise. A great body of adventurers joined the expedition. They did not, however, sail direct to Portugal, but attacked Corunna; burnt some ships; defeated a Spanish army; and took the lower town. At last they went on the real purpose for which the armament was fitted out. But Philip was now prepared. Every attempt at insurrection was promptly suppressed. Lisbon was defended by a large force. When the English army under Norris advanced from Peniche, their landing-place, and Drake sailed up the Tagus, they could only obtain possession of the suburbs of Lisbon; and were speedily forced to re-embark for want of ammunition and provisions. On their return they took and burned Vigo; and then came back to England—triumphant to a limited extent, but having lost one half of the adventurers, many in fight, but the greater number by famine and sickness. The young earl of Essex was one of those who took part in this enterprise as a volunteer.

As Drake's ships were returning homeward, with their half-starved crews and soldiers, they received some supplies from a fleet of seven ships, which the earl of Cumberland had fitted out at his own charge to attack the Spanish coasts. A fearful mortality amongst the men of this expedition also crippled their exertions; and, though many prizes were made, the prosperous issue of the great contest was little advanced by this and other detached enterprises. But there was a higher result of such a warfare than the taking of ships or the burning of towns. A grand spirit of devotion to their country was engendered in the people. The energies called forth in that stirring time produced a corresponding elevation of the national character. In one of his earliest comedies, Shakspeare, in a scene where a father recommends his son "to seek preferment," has briefly indicated the great principles which stimulated the ambition of the gentlemen of England at this period:—

"Some, to the wars, to try their fortune there;
Some, to discover islands far away;
Some, to the studious universities." *

They had been fighting in the Netherlands during the command of Leicester; they were still fighting for the same cause under Maurice of Nassau; they were about to fight for Henry of Navarre. War against Philip of Spain, wherever to be carried on, would be a war of enthusiasm. Discovery, a natural result of commercial extension, was the one thing wanting to fill the "home-keeping youths" with an ardent desire to burst the narrow confines of their own land, to seek wealth and honour in regions where the earth yielded its richest increase to the slightest labour. Knowledge was to be sought; for not only were learning and ability now the stepping-stones to civil preferment, but ignorance had become a disgrace amongst the high-born, who once left the churchmen to the almost exclusive possession of intellectual power. The stormy time of the Reformation had been succeeded by a time of comparative peace and security; but this position had been won by a general enlargement of the national thought, and through this growing freedom of opinion a great Literature was bursting into life,—sustaining and carrying forward the mental independence which had produced it. Gabriel

* "Two Gentlemen of Verona," act 1. sc. 3.

Harvey, in one of his tracts, directed, as verses of his friend Spenser had been directed, against some of the ribaldry of vulgar controversialists, shows, in a passage which is worth quoting, the stimulus which heroic action ought to give, as it must have given, to intellectual production: "England, since it was England, never bred more honourable minds. more adventurous hearts, more valorous hands, or more excellent wits, than of late. . . . The date of idle vanities is expired. Away with these scribbling paltries. There is another Sparta in hand, that indeed requireth Spartan temperance, Spartan frugality, Spartan exercise, Spartan valiancy, Spartan perseverance, Spartan invincibility; and hath no wanton leisure for the comedies of Athens. . . . The wind is changed, and there is a busier pageant upon the stage. . . . When you have observed the course of industry, examined the antecedents and consequences of travel, compared English and Spanish valour, measured the forces of both parties, weighed every circumstance of advantage, considered the means of our assurance, and finally found profit to be our pleasure, provision our security, labour our honour, warfare our welfare,—who of reckoning can spare any lewd or vain time for corrupt pamphlets; or who of judgment will not cry, away with these paltering fiddle-faddles." * This stilted eloquence of Gabriel Harvey conveys a great truth. The English nation was growing into loftier proportions in this period of new-born energies. He points to the western discoveries of Gilbert; the West-Indian voyage of Drake; the arctic expedition of Frobisher; the colonisation of Virginia by Raleigh; the hot welcome of the terrible Spanish armada to the coast of England; the voyage into Spain and Portugal of Norris, Drake, and Essex. But he recounts these, to show how the period which called forth such energies ought to bear the corresponding fruits of a high literature,—and he exclaims, "what miracles of excellency might be achieved in an age of policy and a world of industry." They were achieved.

* "Pierce's Supererogation," 1593. Reprinted in "Archaica," vol. ii. p. 62.



Medal struck by the Dutch after the defeat of the Armada.



Hooker

CHAPTER XVI.

The three religious classes of the second half of the reign of Elizabeth—Progress of Non-Conformity—Statute against the Puritans—The Puritan enmity to the habits of society—Philip Stubbes' *Anatomy of Abuses*—Pride of Apparel—Gluttony and Drunkenness—Dancing considered a vice—Music held to be corrupting—The Sabbath profaned by Sports—The Lord of Misrule—May-games; Wakes; Church-ales—Country festivals—Athletic exercises and sports—Gaming—Stage Plays.

THE three chief religious classes of the second half of the reign of Elizabeth have been defined by one who lived near that period:—"They may for distinction be called the active Romanists, the restless Nonconformists (of which there were many sorts), and the passive peaceable Protestants."* In the history of this time, as of every other time, the doings of the "active" and of the "restless" must be far more prominent than any movement of the "passive peaceable." Up to the period of the death of Mary Stuart, the "active Romanists" were the only objects of grave solicitude to the government. All the just and rational energies of the queen and the statesmen who surrounded her; all the severities against Popish recusants, which were defended as being levelled only against traitors, were calculated to uphold the great edifice of Protestantism which was the shelter and bulwark of the civil polity. In this contest against the Romanists, none were more zealous than those who, known as Puritans, first objected to some ceremonies of the Anglican Church, and then denounced the hierarchical constitution upon which

* Walton, "Life of Hooker."

she rested. They became "restless Nonconformists." They were compared to a man "who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful." * Both these classes, however, constituted a decided minority, as compared with the "passive peaceable Protestants"—those who were content to remain in the quiet enjoyment of the security which had been won by the sagacity of their rulers. Amongst their ranks the enthusiasts were not to be found. The Established Church had opened its arms widely, to embrace many who conscientiously differed as to doctrine and discipline. The majority accepted the invitation to abide by the religion of the State,—to form contented if not zealous members of a Church which was expressly calculated to reconcile differences. Her decent ceremonies, her abundant provision for the maintenance of her ministers, her beautiful form of Common Prayer, her solemn Offices, were well suited to the quiet and orderly English character. The Romanists, who, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, were a powerful body decidedly hostile to the government, had, after the contests of a quarter of a century, been absorbed into the ranks of the conformists, or held their own opinions in secret, or had been crushed. The power which had largely contributed to crush the more dangerous of the enemies of the reformed doctrines had, in its turn, become troublesome if not dangerous. Let us endeavour to sketch an outline of the position of the Puritans, in their relations to the Church and State, and in their social relations, as they present themselves to our observation during the years immediately succeeding the great triumph over the attempt to make England an appanage of Spain, a country for the bishop of Rome "to tithe and toll in."

In 1588, the bishop of Winchester, Thomas Cooper, published "An Admonition to the People of England," which aimed at counteracting the effect of certain bold and scurrilous pamphlets which had been issued with the intent to bring the Church and its ministers into contempt. He especially complains that such books should be in men's hands and bosoms, "when the view of the mighty navy of the Spaniards is scant passed out of our sight; when the terrible sound of their shot ringeth, as it were, yet in our ears." But though the Puritans were at issue with the government upon the great question of religious freedom, and held opinions very adverse to the constitution and discipline of the Church, as enforced by the Act of Uniformity, they had not been the less ready to defend their country against invasion. They were naturally most strenuous in their hatred of the invader that drew the sword in the name of Rome. When the immediate danger had passed away, the Puritans went with redoubled zeal about the work which they called a Re-reformation. The age of pamphlets had now fully come. As the power of reading was more widely extended, tracts were multiplied, whose tone was adapted for men of strong convictions and obstinate prejudices, to whom abuse would be more acceptable than placid reasoning. Many, also, who cared little for the subjects of controversy, read with avidity the little books that bore the name of Martin Marprelate, and the answers they called forth; for they were bitter and sarcastic, with touches of coarse humour. The queen's proclamation against certain seditious and schismatical books and

* Walton, "Life of Hooker.

libels was issued with little effect. The Marprelate tracts were secretly printed and circulated in despite of authority. "The public printing-presses being shut against the Puritans, some of them purchased a private one, and carried it from one county to another, to prevent discovery. It was first set up at Moulsey, in Surrey, near Kingston-on-Thames; from thence it was conveyed to Fawsley, in Northamptonshire; from thence to Norton; from thence to Coventry; from Coventry to Woolston, in Warwickshire; and from thence to Manchester, in Lancashire, where it was discovered. Sundry satirical pamphlets were printed by this press, and dispersed all over the kingdom."* The crisis of a great struggle had arrived; and these libels were the straws which, thrown up, showed which way the wind blew.

The Protestant ministers who fled from the persecutions of queen Mary, had remained long enough in communion with foreign reformed Churches to bring home, upon the accession of Elizabeth, opinions much opposed to the system of church government as established by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. There were some portions of the ceremonies prescribed in the rubric which they held to be superstitious. They regarded the vestments of the clergy as popish. They objected to the sign of the cross in the office of baptism, and to the ring in that of matrimony. They objected to kneeling at the communion service. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth her Council held divided opinions upon these matters of controversy; but the queen herself was opposed to an abolition of forms to which the only serious objection was that they belonged to the rites of the earlier Church. But in that age opinions assumed a more violent character of opposition when their differences centred round some visible object; and we still contend in a like fashion, as soldiers in a battle strive to gain or to hold the rag of silk under which one side fights, whilst the principle of the warfare has passed out of mind. The clergy who returned from their seven years' exile during the time of persecution, were put in possession of many of the livings from which the Romish priests had been in their turn ejected. They very soon ceased to regard the Act of Uniformity as imperatively binding; and great irregularities in the performance of ceremonies crept in, and were for some time tolerated. But at length a rigid observance of the rubric was enforced; and the ministers who would not conform were thrust out from their benefices. There was now a body of men, powerful from their abilities and their earnestness, deprived of their means of subsistence, and excluded from the vocations to which they were dedicated. They had their admirers and their followers; and their course was to form separate assemblies. In 1567 a congregation of dissenters were seized at Plumbers' Hall, and some were committed to prison. As yet, the contest had been about what the Puritans held as superstitious ceremonies. The resistance with which they were encountered upon minor points ultimately led them to condemn the episcopal constitution of the Anglican Church, and to proclaim the superiority of the Genevan model. Although the queen was decidedly opposed to their pretensions, which, as set forth by some of their leaders, affected her own claim to supremacy, they had a covert support amongst the most influential of her ministers. Burleigh and Walsingham, and even the favourite, Leicester, knew

* Neal's "History of the Puritans," vol. i. chap. viii.

that if the civil government became persecutors of these zealous men it would alienate its warmest supporters in the contest between Protestantism and Romanism. These were the men who were the most powerful in keeping the people from lukewarmness in the great cause for which they were fighting. But the queen and the ecclesiastical authorities were too strong for the moderate party of the Council. Archbishop Parker discountenanced the meetings of the clergy called Prophesyings. The licences for preaching were greatly restricted under his authority. Archbishop Grindal, who succeeded Parker, took a different view of what he considered the interests of the Church. He inclined to a toleration of preachings and prophesyings, and accordingly fell under the queen's displeasure. Archbishop Whitgift, who succeeded to the primacy in 1583, was determined to put down rather than conciliate the party of the Puritans. As might be expected he drove them into Non-conformity. He prohibited all preaching, reading, or catechising in private houses, if any resorted thereto not of the same family. He imperatively required from every minister of the Church a new subscription, which under previous requirements had been probably evaded. The clergy were now absolutely driven to subscribe to the point of the queen's supremacy, to that of the lawfulness of the Common Prayer and the Ordination Service, and to the Thirty-nine Articles. He appointed a new Ecclesiastical Commission, who were to examine the clergy upon twenty-four articles, of so stringent and subtle a nature that Burleigh wrote to the archbishop: "I find them so curiously penned that I think the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests." Burleigh remonstrated in vain; the archbishop, supported by some of the bishops, pursued his course. The result was, first a furious attack upon episcopacy in the pamphlets of Martin Marprelate; and then severe laws against the Puritans, which had no ultimate effect but that of fortifying their opinions, and ultimately of making their cause the rallying point of civil and religious liberty. In 1593, an Act was passed "to restrain the queen's subjects in obedience." Those who disputed the queen's ecclesiastical authority, abstained from church, or attended "any assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion," were to be imprisoned unless they made a formal submission in the open church; if at the expiration of three months they did not conform they were to abjure the realm; if they refused so to do, or returned after abjuration, the penalty of death awaited them. In the same session an Act of increased severity was passed against "popish recusants." The times were changed. There was now little distinction between the non-conforming Protestant and the recusant Romanist, in the eyes of the dominant Church. The obvious and not unreasonable excuse for this course, which we now call bigotry, is that neither of the three great parties, if placed in power, would have admitted the principle of toleration. There was not for Protestant, Puritan, or Papist, any middle course between the assertion of his own principles and the destruction of those of his adversaries. Cartwright, the great leader of the Puritans, claimed absolute power for the Church he would have set up; and he exhorted his brethren to resistance and nothing but resistance: "The Lord," he says, "keep you constant, that ye yield neither to toleration, neither to any other subtle persuasions of dispensations and licences, which were to fortify their Romish

practices; but, as you fight the Lord's fight, be valiant."* And so, in this spirit of giving no quarter to those who asked none, the Ecclesiastical Commission ejected ministers; the government hanged libellers; and Penry, the supposed author of the Marprelate tracts, was hastily and cruelly executed, under the statute of 1581, for seditious words and rumours against the queen. These severities were chiefly directed against the separatists from the Church who were then denominated Brownists, and afterwards Independents. No man of those times who really desired the advancement of true religion could look upon the odious scoffings of either party—upon the schismatic spirit which rejected union as an accursed thing, and upon the arrogant temper which thought to compel conformity by banishment and the gibbet—without feeling sorrow and humiliation that so noxious weeds had sprung up amidst the rich harvest of the Reformation. Such lovers of peace would long to address the violent of both classes in the prophetic words which the most illustrious of the defenders of the establishment, the eloquent, profound, and sensible Hooker, addressed "to those who seek the reformation of the laws and orders ecclesiastical in the Church of England:"—"Far more comfort it were for us, so small is the joy we take in these strifes, to labour under the same yoke, as men that look for the same eternal reward of their labours; to be enjoined with you in bands of indissoluble love and amity; to live as if our persons being many, our souls were but one; rather than in such dismembered sort to spend our few and wretched days in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome contentions; the end whereof, if they have not some speedy end, will be heavy, even on both sides."†

Such, then, were the relations of the Puritan party to the Church and State, and so ominous were these "wearisome contentions," when Hooker published the first four books of his great work in 1594. In their social relations these dissenters certainly did not present an amiable aspect to the rest of the community. What Hooker said of the Anabaptists was indirectly pointed at them: "Every word otherwise than severely and sadly uttered, seemed to pierce like a sword through them. If any man were pleasant, their manner was fervently with sighs to repeat those words of our Saviour Christ, 'Woe be to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament.'" It was in this temper that the Puritans made themselves obnoxious as the enemies of all innocent amusements; and, affecting "to cross the ordinary custom in every thing," equally denounced the general habits of society, however harmless or indifferent, as well as its exceptional vices. In looking at this aspect of Puritanism we may collect some distinctive traits of the social life of the latter period of the reign of Elizabeth. We believe that we should greatly err if, accepting the denunciations of the puritanic writers without qualification, we were to regard this as a period of very marked profligacy. We open "The Anatomie of Abuses" of Philip Stubbes—"a most rigid Calvinist, a bitter enemy to Popery, and a great corrector of the vices and abuses of his time."‡ This lay-preacher has no gradations in his scale of wickedness, "The horrible vice of pestiferous dancing" is as offensive to him as "the beastly vice of drunkenness;" and "new devices and devilish fashions" of apparell

* Quoted by Mr. Hallam, from Madox, "Vindication of the Church."

† Preface to "Ecclesiastical Polity," vol. i. p. 190. Oxford, ed. 1820.

‡ Antony à Wood.

are as odious in his sight as "gaming-houses, the shambles of the devil." Nevertheless, he is an honest and trustworthy observer of manners, at a time when the moralist had a wide range for observation; when he looked upon a people rather than a class—the courtier and the citizen, the artisan and the peasant. The pursuits of all members of the social state had become blended in mutual wants and dependencies. Let us follow this quaint old writer in some of his delineations of the English of the latter part of the sixteenth century—"a strong kind of people, audacious, bold, puissant, and heroical, of great magnanimity, valiancy, and prowess;" but, "notwithstanding that the Lord hath blessed that land with the knowledge of his truth above all other lands in the world, yet is there not a people more corrupt, wicked, or perverse, living upon the face of the earth."* Out of the manifest exaggerations of this declaimer we may collect many curious and unquestionable facts.

In the Epistle Dedicatory of his volumes, Stubbess says, "reformation of manners, and amendment of life, was never more needful; for was pride, the chiefest argument of this book, ever so ripe?" By "pride" we understand him to mean what is the accompaniment of every period of general prosperity—a love of luxury and of luxurious display, not confined to the superior classes, but spread by the force of the imitative principle very widely through many inferior degrees of station. "Do not," he says, "both men and women, for the most part, every one, in general, go attired in silks, velvets, damasks, satins, and what not, which are attire only for the nobility and gentry, and not for the others at any hand?" The sumptuary laws of Henry VIII. had ceased to be regarded. Those who were winning wealth by industry would no longer submit, if they ever did submit, to be told by statute what they were not to wear, according to a scale of income varying from 200*l.* a year to 5*l.*† They utterly despised the reason set forth for such arbitrary regulation—namely, to prevent "the subversion of good and politic order in knowledge and distinction of people, according to their estates, pre-eminences, dignities, and degrees."‡ A statute of Philip and Mary was directed against the wearing of silk, except by certain privileged classes. The statesmen of Elizabeth meddled little with these matters, but we find in the statute-book three laws which were intended, as we suppose, for the encouragement of home manufactures. By a statute of 1562-3, a most singular device was adopted, for preventing persons, except those of inordinate wealth, indulging too largely in the extravagance of "foreign stuff or wares" for appareling or adorning the body. If such finery was sold to any person not possessing 3000*l.* a year in lands or fees, not being paid for in ready money, the seller was debarred of any legal remedy for the recovery of the debt.§ By a statute of 1566, velvet hats or caps were prohibited to all under the degree of a knight; and by that of 1571, every person, except ladies, lords, knights, and gentlemen having twenty marks by the year in land, was to wear upon his head, on Sundays and holidays, a home-made cap of wool, very decent and comely for all states and degrees.|| If Stubbess is to be relied upon, all states and degrees rejected the statutory notion of what was decent and comely. They wore hats "perking up like the spear or shaft of a

* Stubbess, p. 4. We quote from the rare reprint, edited by Mr. Turnbull.

† 24 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

§ 5 Eliz. c. 6.

‡ *Ibid.*

|| 13 Eliz. c. 19.

temple;”—or hats “flat and broad on the crown, like the battlements of a house;” or “round crowns” with bands of every colour. They wore hats of silk, velvet, taffety, sarsenet, wool, and of “fine hair, which they call beaver, fetched from beyond the seas, from whence a great sort of other vanities do come besides.” He was of no estimation among men who had not a velvet or taffety hat; “and so common a thing it is, that every serving-man, country-man, or other, even all indifferently, do wear of these hats.” With these exceptional laws, which thus appear to have been wholly inoperative, Elizabeth and her Council left the regulation of apparel to a far higher law than any parliament could enact—to the tastes of the people and their ability to gratify them. The foreign fashions were copied, and the foreign silks and velvets imported, with no restraint that had the least effect. The queen herself carried her love of costly dress almost into a mania. It was the only expenditure in which she was profuse. In her youth, said bishop Aylmer, “her maidenly apparel, which she used in king Edward’s time, made the noblemen’s daughters and wives to be ashamed to be dressed and painted like peacocks.” Sir John Harrington has a story of a bishop, which shows how the same Elizabeth thought of such adornments at a later period of her life. “On Sunday my lord of London preached to the queen’s majesty, and seemed to touch on the vanity of decking the body too finely. Her majesty told the ladies that ‘if the bishop held more discourse on such matters, she would fit him for heaven, but he should walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him.’”^{*} The ruff and the vardingale had then superseded all “maidenly apparel;” and we are now accustomed to think of Elizabeth and her ladies as they shone forth in the most gorgeous but least graceful of womanly attire. The liberty of the press, small as it was, must have been more relied upon than the liberty of the pulpit, when Philip Stubbes hurled his thunder against every article of dress with which we are familiar in the portraits of the magnificent queen. The wreaths of gold and jewels in the bolstered hair; the rings of precious stones in the pierced ears; the “great ruffs and neckerchers of holland, lawn, cambric, and such cloth, smeared and starched in the devil’s ‘liquor,’ starch;” the gowns “of divers fashions, changing with the moon;” the fringed petticoats; the coloured kirtles—these vanities of the rich and great, had, according to this minute censor, descended to the very humble: “So far hath this canker of pride eaten into the body of the commonwealth, that every poor yeoman’s daughter, and every husbandman’s daughter, and every cottager’s daughter, will not stick to flaunt it out in such gowns, petticoats, and kirtles, as these.” Doubtless this description of the spread of luxury is greatly overdone; or we might receive it as a proof of the general diffusion of wealth. But when this godly satirist tells us of these cottagers’ daughters,—“they are so impudent that, albeit their poor parents have but one cow, horse, or sheep, they will never let them rest till they be sold, to maintain them in their braveries,”—we may be certain that he is speaking “in Ercles’ vein.” The holiday finery of the village maiden was limited to a ribbon and a coloured nether-stock. A “queen of curds and cream,” transplanted to a town, might “spend the greatest part of the day in sitting at the door, to show her braveries,”

^{*} “Nuge Antiquæ,” vol. i. v. 170.

but on her native green she was as pure and simple as the rose in her bosom.

The pride of apparel, set forth by this anatomist of abuses, was scarcely more obtrusive in women than in men. All ranks, according to this authority, lavished their means upon the abominations of stately bands and



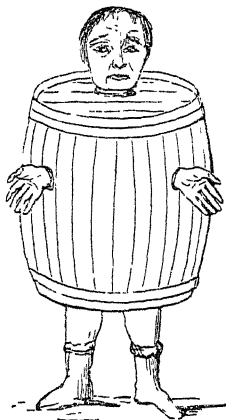
Costume.—Venetian, 1590 (Titian). Spanish, 1577 (Weigel). French, 1581 (Boissard.)

monstrous ruffs, upon embroidered shirts, upon slashed and laced doublets, upon French and Venetian hosen, upon knit nether-stocks (stockings), upon velvet cloaks. There never was a period in which the satirist did not affirm that the preceding generation was healthier and braver, and altogether nobler than that to which he had the misfortune to belong; and so our good old Puritan writes, "how strong men were in times past, how long they lived, and how healthful they were, before such niceness and vain pampering curiosity was invented, we may read, and many that live at this day can testify. But now, through our fond toys and nice inventions, we have brought ourselves into such pusillanimity and effeminacy of condition, as we may seem rather nice dames and wanton girls, than puissant agents or manly men, as our forefathers have been."* The year 1588 gave a practical answer to the charge of pusillanimity. The Saxon heart was as brave as ever, though it beat under an Italian doublet. Nevertheless, if there had not been some salt in society to preserve the body politic from the taint of selfishness, these and other excesses of pride might be received as symptoms of national decay. Gluttony and drunkenness are the vices of the rudest communities; but in the more general diffusion of wealth in the reign of Elizabeth, they assumed those forms of ostentatious display which are

* Stubbes, p. 44.

amongst the worst evils of social refinement. The puritan writers were not alone in their remonstrances against the luxuries of the table which marked the latter years of the sixteenth century. Stubbes compares the variety of meats and sauces, the sweet condiments, the delicate confections of his time, with the past days, when "one dish or two of good wholesome meat was thought sufficient for a man of great worship to dine withal." Thomas Nash, whom the Puritans counted amongst the wicked, enlarges on the same theme: "We must have our tables furnished like poulterers' stalls, or as though we were to victual Noah's ark again. . . . What a coil have we, this course and that course, removing this dish higher, setting another lower, and taking away the third. A general might in less space remove his camp, than they stand disposing of their gluttony." * Excessive drinking, a vice which reached its climax in the degraded court of James I., was not wholly of native growth. The same writer says, "From gluttony in meats let me descend to superfluity in drink,—a sin that, ever since we have mixed ourselves with the Low Countries, is counted honourable; but before we knew their lingering wars was held in the highest degree of hatred that might be." † Stubbes says, "every country, city, town, village, and other places, hath abundance of ale-houses, taverns, and inns, which are so fraught with maltworms, night and day, that you would wonder to see them." There were punishments for low debauchery, such as the drunkard's cloak. Against this growing sin, which was creeping up from the peasant and the mechanic to the yeoman and the courtier, the preachers lifted up their voices in the pulpit, and not always in vain. Robert Greene, the unhappy dramatist, who died in the midst of his excesses, tells how he was stopped in his early career of riot by hearing a good man preach of future rewards and punishments; but that he could not stand up against the ridicule of his companions, who called him Puritan and Precisian, and so went again to his drinking-booth, his dice, and his bear-baiting. But we may be sure that these earnest preachers in some degree injured the good effect of their religious exhortations against real vices, by denouncing those harmless recreations which to the greater number supplied the place of grosser excitements. In resisting "the beginnings of evil" too much zeal may be as fatal as too much laxity.

The court of Elizabeth, in which



The Drunkard's Cloak.

"My grave Lord-Keeper led the brawls,"

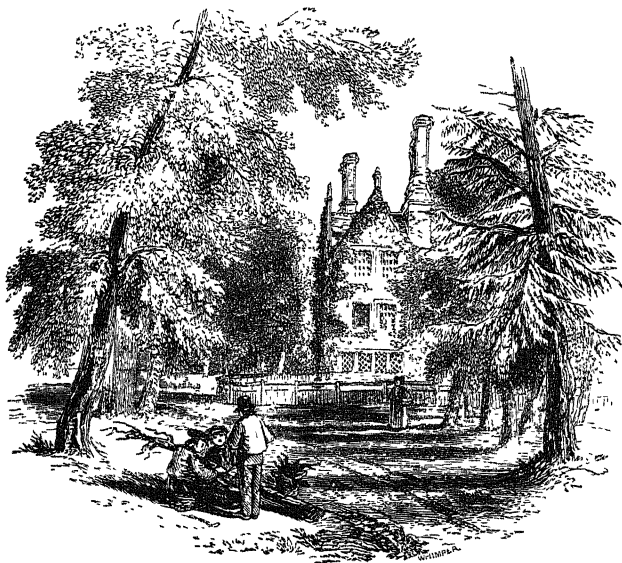
was a dancing court. The queen danced when she was a girl, as her sister Mary also danced. In 1589, at her palace of Richmond, her "ordinary exercise" was "six or seven galliards in a morning, besides music and singing." ‡ In 1600, when she was feeble, and asked for a staff when wearied, she could still delight, at the house of sir Robert Sydney, to look upon the pleasures of the

* "Pierce Penniless," edited by J. P. Collier, from the original of 1592, p. 47.

† *Ibid.* p. 52.

‡ Lodge, vol. ii. p. 411.

young, "and smiled at the ladies, who in their dances often came up to the step on which the seat was fixed to make their obeisance, and so fell back into their order again." * The Puritans denounced all dancing in mixed companies of the sexes. The dancing-schools, which then abounded, were, they said, for teaching "the noble science of heathen devilry." They held that "men by themselves and women by themselves" might dance without sin, "to recreate the mind oppressed with some great toil and labour." The people, high and low, did not choose to accept this limitation of their favourite amusement; and so upon the rushes of the torch-lighted hall, having before them the noble example of sir Christopher Hatton,† the courtiers danced their grave measures and corantoes, to the airs of queen Elizabeth's



Remains of Stoke Manor-House, the seat of Sir Christopher Hatton

"Virginal Book;" and the peasant youths and maidens, on the village green, saw the sun go down, as they tripped "the comely country-round." Puritanism thought it right to make war upon every such amusement, crying out, "Give over your occupations, you pipers, you fiddlers, you minstrels, and you musicians, you drummers, you tabretters, and you fluters, and all other of that wicked brood." ‡ They held that "sweet music at the first delighteth the ears, but afterward corrupteth and depraveth the mind." In this, and in many other battles which they fought, they warred against nature, and were beaten. Music was the especial Art of the Elizabethan days. In every household there was the love of music, and in many families it was cultivated as an essential part of education. The plain tune of the church did not unfit the people for the madrigals of the fire-side—exquisite compositions, which tell us how much of the highest enjoyments of a refined taste belonged to an age which we are too apt to consider very inferior to our own in the amenities of life.

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 315. † See Gray's "Long Story." ‡ Stubbes, p. 204.

We should do the puritanic writers and preachers injustice if we did not see and point out that many of their objections to the recreations of the people were originally directed against their use on the Sunday. The Christians' first day of the week being regarded by the Romanists as a holiday, on which, after the hours of devotion, all amusements lawful in themselves were not unlawful, the more rigid Protestants determined, in their implicit reverence for the Old Testament, to adopt the strictest Judaical observance of the Sabbath, as one of the most distinguishing attributes of the Reformation. This view was injurious to the desire for conciliation which influenced the majority of the conforming clergy; who were either opposed upon principle to the application of this supposed test of a holy life, or saw the impolicy of depriving the people of the recreations which their forefathers deemed not only innocent but salutary. After the evening service, to shoot at the butts, to play at football, even to see an interlude, were not accounted unchristian occupations. Round the old manor-house, the lads and lasses of the village would have their Sunday evening games of barley-break and hand-



Barley-break

ball, while the squire and even the parson would look on approvingly. The Puritans conscientiously believed such license to be incompatible with religious principle, and set about opposing these pursuits with an earnestness commensurate with the difficulty of their task. Cartwright, the most influential of their number, speaking of the way in which a clergyman performed the service, says—"He posteth it over as fast as he can gallop; for either he hath two places to serve, or else there are some games to be played in the afternoon." When there were daily prayers in the parish-churches, and especially at holiday-seasons, the old traditional sports and mummeries of the people were also offensive to some, though tolerated by many. Thus Puritanism came to do battle, not only against those amusements on Sundays, and at other especial times when the Church claimed serious thoughts, but

against the amusements themselves, whenever practised. In 1585, a bishop of Lincoln, in his "Visitation Articles of Inquiry," asks, "Whether your Minister and Churchwardens have suffered any Lords of Misrule, or Summer Lords and Ladies, or any disguised person in Christmas, or at May-games, or Morris-dancers, or at any other time, to come unreverently into the churchyard, and there to dance or play any unseemly part, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures, or ribald talk, namely in the time of common prayer."* The popular license on these holiday occasions, amongst a people in whom the love of fun was inbred, no doubt often went beyond the bounds of decorum; and thus the stricter Protestants endeavoured to sweep away the merriments altogether. They were in due time successful—"the hobby-horse was forgot," and the "sealed quarts" at the alehouse-door remained the only attraction.



The Alehouse Door.

The Lord of Misrule was a great personage in town and country. He was the "master of merry disports" in royal palaces and civic halls. Learned doctors of the universities, and great benchers of the inns of court, recognised his authority. He held his ground through all the troublesome times of the Reformation up to the Civil Wars, when his mock pageantry was swept away with the realities of power that then perished. The Christmas sports and their lord would have perished, even though Prynne, with other learned Puritans, had not called upon "all pious Christians eternally to abominate them," because they were "derived from the Roman Saturnalia and Bacchanalian festivals." But

in Elizabeth's days, though most of the so-called superstitious ceremonies of the ancient Church had been swept away, the people, high or low, would not readily surrender those festive observances which, although common in the times of Popery, were not necessarily connected with its spirit or its practice. Thus, in every borough, and more especially in every village, the Lord of Misrule, chosen by universal suffrage at Christmas or at Whitsuntide, headed his company of lusty mummers, in their gaudy liveries, their scarfs and laces, their legs hung with little bells; and "then march this heathen company towards the church and churchyard, their pipers piping, their drummers thundering, their stumps dancing, their bells jingling, their handkerchiefs swinging about their heads like madmen, their hobby-horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the throng."† We laugh at these follies which the Puritans execrated; but in this license the national character may be recognised. The riot of the multitude was placed by themselves under control. The Lord of Misrule was as

* Quoted in "The Martin Marprelate Controversy," by the Rev. W. Maskell.

† Stubbes, p. 169.

absolute as the Parish Constable. The empire of Law was recognised by "the wild heads of the parish" in choosing their captain; and "the foolish people"



Whitsun Morris Dance.

submitted themselves for their guidance to his authority, upon the principle of order by which their more serious liberties were upheld. Amongst such a people it was useless declaiming against May-games; against Plough-Monday dances, with their "tipsy jollity;" against Church-ales, and Wakes. The old hearty spirit of hospitality might be denounced as gluttony, and the free intercourse of joyous hearts reprobated as licentiousness. If the feasts and the merry-makings had been simply vicious they could not have so long prevailed amongst a nation essentially moral. Even in the popular gatherings, which have been so emphatically described as occasions for sin, there were objects of piety and charity connected with the harmless merriment and wild excitement. Such were the Wakes and the Church-ales. The Wake was the annual feast to commemorate the dedication of the parish church. Stubbes has described the festival with less than his usual acrimony: "Every town, parish, and village, some at one time of the year, some at another,—but so that every one keep his proper day assigned, and appropriate to itself, which they call their wake-day,—useth to make great preparation for good cheer; to the which all their friends and kinsfolks, far and near, are invited." He speaks the language which the Puritans applied to every relaxation, when he asks, "wherefore should the whole town, parish, village, and country, keep one and the same day, and make such gluttonous feasts as they do?" Such

be handled by them, or presented to lewd spectators." A commission had been issued to inquire what companies of players had thus offended. This was the period of the Marprelate controversy; and the stage was made an instrument for attacking the Puritans. Nash boasted that "*Vetus Comœdia* had brought forth Divinity with a scratched face, holding her heart as if she were sick." Spenser has described this period of license as one of ugly barbarism and brutish ignorance, of scoffing scurrility and scornful folly; and he asks why "the man whom Nature self had made to mock herself"—"our pleasant Willy" chooses "to sit in idle cell" rather "than so himself to mockery to sell." There can be little doubt that "the gentle spirit," thus alluded to by the greatest poet of that time—a poet of enduring greatness—was Shakspeare. He had, we are assured, already written two or three of his comedies, of which "unhurtful sport, delight, and laughter" were the characteristics. A grander labour was before him—the labour of preserving for all ages and all nations the influences of what has been truly called "great Eliza's golden time;" a time of free thought and heroic action, when individual prosperity had not deadened the sympathy for national greatness; when men lived for their country as much as for themselves; a time of security and comparative peace, born out of a long period of unrest. Of the great interpreter of the spirit of that age we shall have again to speak, in a brief notice of the Elizabethan Literature.